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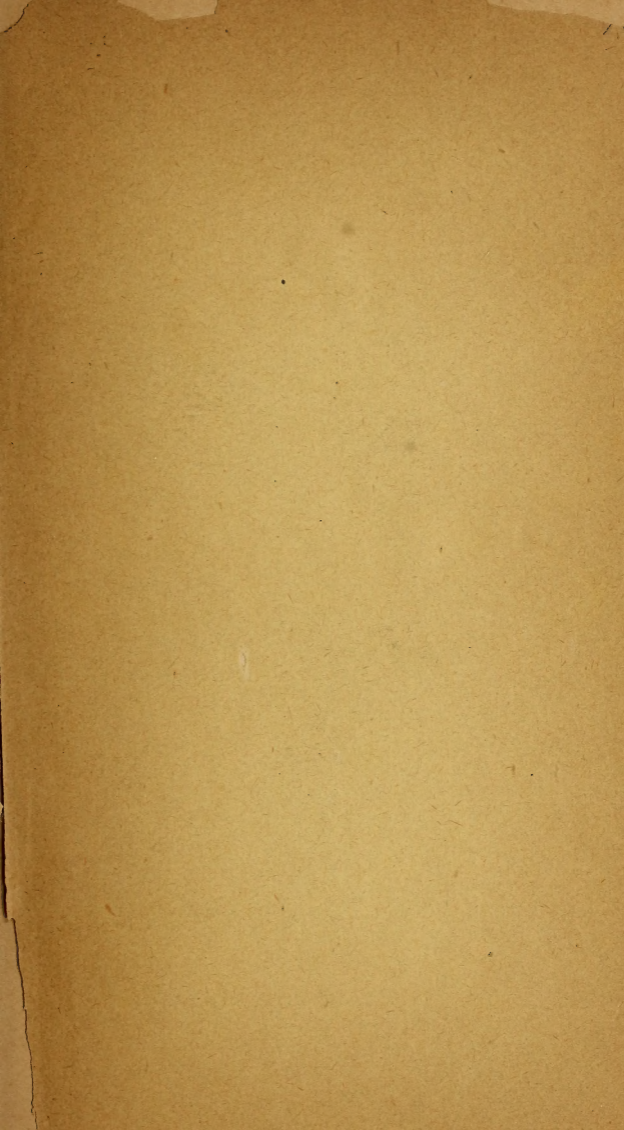


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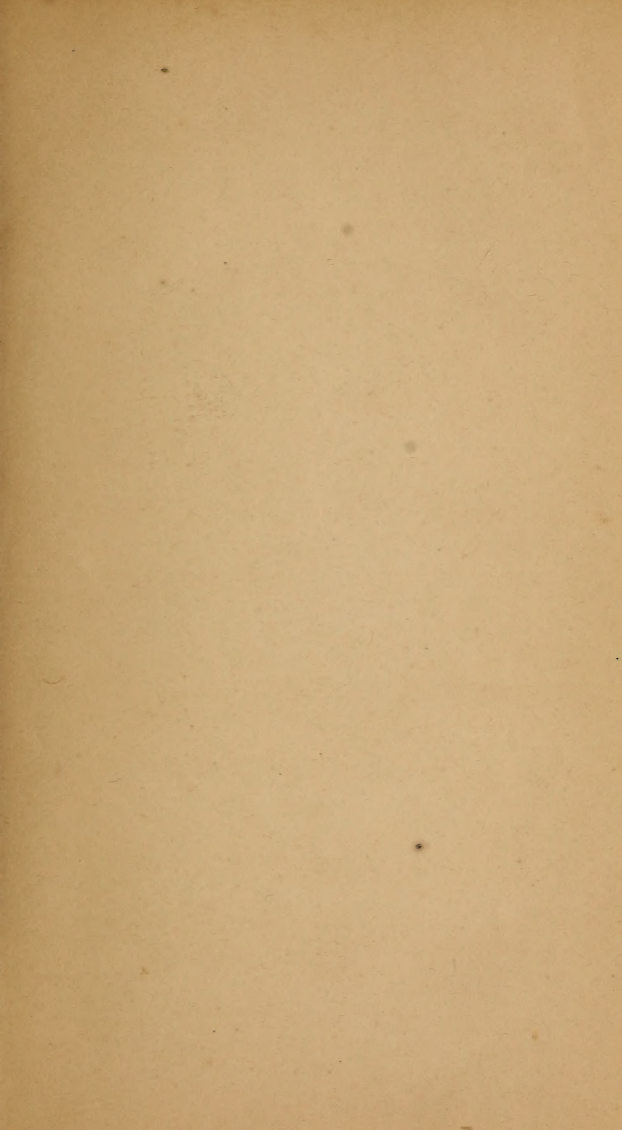




















THE  
P A N E G Y R I C U S

OF

ISOCRATES,

FROM THE TEXT OF BREMI.

WITH ENGLISH NOTES,

BY

C. C. FELTON, LL.D.

*Third Edition, Revised.*

CAMBRIDGE:  
SEVER AND FRANCIS.

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## PREFACE TO THE FIRST EDITION.

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IN the valuable "History of Eloquence in Greece and Rome"\* by Westermann, a convenient division into chronological periods is adopted. Each period is then subdivided into shorter portions. The first period brings the history of Greek eloquence down to the time of the Persian wars, and treats of various interesting topics, particularly of Homer and the popular institutions incidentally delineated in his poems. The second period extends to the death of Alexander the Great, and includes the most brilliant names that illustrate the history of Athenian eloquence. In the second subdivision of this period, which he calls the Spartan age, on account of the great influence which Sparta acquired by the result of the Peloponnesian war, he places Lysias, Isocrates, and Isaeus, although the life of Isocrates extended into the Macedonian epoch.

The father of Isocrates was a wealthy and respectable citizen of Athens, named Theodorus, who carried on the manufacture of flutes; † a circumstance that gave occasion to many satirical allusions by the comic poets of the

\* Geschichte der Beredtsamkeit in Griechenland und Rom, nach den Quellen bearbeitet von Dr. Anton Westermann. Leipzig, 1863.

† Dionysius, Περὶ τῶν ἀρχαίων Ῥητόρων, p. 534 seqq.

time. Isocrates was born in the deme of Erchia, in the first year of the 86th Olympiad, or B. C. 436, in the archonship of Lysimachus, a little more than half a century before the birth of Demosthenes, and five years before the breaking out of the Peloponnesian war. He was, therefore, about seven years older than Plato. Besides Isocrates, Theodorus had two other sons, Telesippus and Diomnestus, and a daughter. The fortune of Theodorus, acquired by the manufacture of flutes, enabled him to secure for his sons the ablest teachers of the age, and Isocrates listened to the lessons of Tisias, Gorgias, Prodicus, and even of Socrates. He was also the friend and associate of Theramenes, whom he vainly endeavored to serve against the fury of Critias. But the natural timidity of the young man, and some physical disadvantages which he labored under, prevented him from engaging personally in the career of public life, which had such attractions for the ambitious spirits at Athens.

He accordingly devoted himself to the study of the theory of eloquence, and to the training of pupils, by teaching and writing, for the Assembly and the courts. It appears that his patrimony was diminished, like so many other estates of Athenian citizens, by the calamities of the Peloponnesian war; and one object he had in view was to repair these losses by the income derived from his business as a teacher of rhetoric. He first opened a school in Chios, where he had but nine pupils; but he is said to have assisted in the formation of a republican constitution for that state, on the model of that of Athens. After this unsuccessful attempt, he returned to his native

city, where the number of his pupils soon increased to one hundred, and his instructions gained him a large fortune and an extraordinary reputation. Besides teaching, he was employed, like many Greek rhetoricians, in writing discourses for others, for one of which he is said to have received the enormous sum of twenty talents.

The wealth of Isocrates exposed him to the usual burdensome offices to which the possessors of property at Athens were liable. He served the expensive liturgy of trierarch, B. C. 352, with great magnificence.

The private life of Isocrates was neither above nor below the average standard of morals in his age. He appears to have indulged in the pleasures and dissipation common among the Athenians of the time. When somewhat advanced, he married Plathane, the widow of Hippias the Sophist, and adopted her youngest son, Aphareus, who became an orator and a distinguished tragic poet.\* Having spent many years in the laborious profession of a teacher of eloquence, he died a voluntary death immediately after the disastrous result of the battle of Chaeronea, B. C. 338.

“ That dishonest victory

At Chaeronea, fatal to liberty,

Killed with report that old man eloquent.”

The life of Isocrates extended over a period that embraced the most important events in the history of Athens. His youth and early manhood were passed amidst the scenes of the Peloponnesian war. He witnessed the es-

\* According to Plutarch, Aphareus was the son of Isocrates by Plathane.

establishment of the tyranny of the Thirty, and the triumphant restoration of the democracy by Thrasybulus. The romantic expedition of Cyrus the Younger, and the immortal retreat of the Ten Thousand, took place in the flower of his age. The death of his teacher, Socrates, by the atrocious sentence of a popular court, saddened his reflecting mind. With patriotic jealousy he watched the progress of the Spartan arms in Asia under Agesilaus, and shared in the hopes and the disappointments of the Corinthian war. He submitted impatiently to the Spartan supremacy; and he doubtless witnessed the sudden glory of Thebes, the brilliant exploits of Epaminondas, and the downfall of the ancient rival of Athens, without regret. When Philip became a prominent personage in Grecian politics, Isocrates was one of those who looked on him as the saviour of the country.

The opposition between the views of Isocrates and those of Demosthenes was remarkable. Demosthenes foresaw from an early period the danger to the liberties of Greece from the ambition of Philip, and engaged in a strenuous resistance, which tasked to the utmost the powers of his splendid oratory. But Isocrates felt that Philip had the power, and he gave him credit for the disposition, to unite the discordant and warring elements that disturbed the peace of the Grecian States, and to bend their concentrated forces upon the great enterprise of conquering the barbarian world. These hopes and this confidence were overthrown by the battle of Chaeronea, and the aged teacher refused to survive an event so disastrous to the independence of Greece. Demosthenes, the practical states-



man, was right. Isocrates, the theoretical rhetorician, was wrong; and it is one of the perversities of ancient politics, that both careers led to suicide.

From the quiet scene of his labors and studies, Isocrates saw passing before him, with startling rapidity and dramatic effect, the shifting scenes of Athenian fortunes. Perhaps these events of more than tragic interest turned his mind from the Sophistic subtilities in the midst of which he had been educated, to the serious, earnest, and ethical views of life, and of eloquence in its influence upon life, which are so profusely scattered over his works; for he was the first to apply the art of eloquence to public questions and the affairs of state. In his school were trained the most eminent statesmen, orators, and philosophers of his age. It was the resort of persons distinguished for birth and talents from every country where the civilization of Greece was known and honored. Even foreign princes corresponded with Isocrates, on terms of equality.

His manner of composition was precise and technical. We see in it the habits of the careful student, nicely adjusting and rounding off his periods; not neglecting the matter, yet over-scrupulous in respect to the manner. His Panegyric Discourse is said by some to have been ten years, by others fifteen, under his hand; and no one can read it without discerning the traces of scrupulous finish, which contrasts strikingly with the practical vigor and overpowering vehemence of Demosthenes. It would be a very useful exercise for the student of rhetoric to compare the styles of these two eminent masters, — each inimitable in his own way. Demosthenes was as careful

as Isocrates in the preparation which he expended upon his orations ; but the necessity of addressing a living multitude forced him to mould his speech into those forms of pointed cogency, crystal clearness, and adamantine strength, to which no orator of modern times, perhaps, has approached so near as Webster. Isocrates, on the other hand, intent upon the rhythm of his sentences and the balance of his antithetical clauses, sometimes trains his constructions to such a length that it would have been equally difficult for the speaker to deliver them without breaking down, and for an audience to hear them without losing part of the sense. Nowhere is the difference between the practical statesman and orator and the philosophical rhetorician more instructively exhibited.

But the language of Isocrates is the purest Attic ; and his composition is an exquisite specimen of the artificial and elaborate kind. "His diction," says Dionysius, "is no less pure than that of Lysias, and it employs no word carelessly ; . . . . it avoids the bad taste \* of antiquated and far-fetched phrases." However unsuited to public delivery, to the reader it is clear, elegant, and delightful. It is select, carefully formed, polished to a high degree ; and though at times richly ornamented, is also at times beautifully simple ; but it is rarely concise and forcible. His merits were discerned by the principal critics of ancient times. The most formal examination of them is that by Dionysius of Halicarnassus, to which may be added the observations in the sketch of his life and character by Plutarch. Plato, in the *Phaedrus*, † makes Socrates speak of

\* ἀπειροκαλίαν.

† p. 278, E.

him as a young man of high promise. Cicero, Quintilian, Lucian, Pausanias, Aelian, Philostratus, Photius, Suidas, and even Eustathius, have touched upon his works with more or less minuteness. His moral sentiments are generally elevated, and, however mistaken he may have been in some of his opinions, the patriotic spirit of his writings is unquestionable.

There were sixty orations in antiquity that bore the name of Isocrates; but only twenty-eight of them were recognized as genuine by Caecilius, a critic in the age of Augustus. Twenty-one have been preserved. Besides these, we have the titles and some fragments of twenty-seven more. There are also ten letters written to his friends on political subjects, one of which, the tenth, is pronounced spurious. The title and a few fragments of a Theory of Eloquence (*Τέχνη ῥητορική*) have been preserved.

The twenty-one discourses now extant may be thus classified:—

1. Three Paraenetic orations, or discourses written for the purpose of giving advice, resembling the moral epistle. One of these is addressed to Demonicus, and two to Nicocles, the son of Evagoras, prince of Cyprus.

2. Five Deliberative orations (*συμβουλευτικοί*): the Panegyricus, those addressed to Philip and to Archidamus, the Areopagiticus, and that on the Peace.

3. Four Encomia: on Evagoras, Helen, Busiris, and the Panathenaicus.

4. Eight Judicial discourses: the Plataicus; on Exchange of Estates; a pleading for the son of Alcibiades; the Trapeziticus, against Pasion the banker, on a question

of deposit; the Paragraphicus; Aegineticus; against Lo-chites; defence of Nicias.

5. A discourse against the Sophists.

These are all interesting and important, as illustrating the age of Isocrates and his personal character. A few extracts from two or three of them, touching upon the latter point, may be allowed to complete the biographical notice given in the preceding pages.

In the discourse to Philip he says: "I was the least fitted of all the citizens by nature to take part in public affairs; for I had not sufficient power of voice nor boldness enough to encounter a multitude, and to wrangle with the orators storming on the bema. But I claim the honor of intellectual ability and of a liberal education; wherefore I take it upon myself to advise, in the way that suits my nature and my talent, both the city and the other Greeks and the most illustrious men."

In the Panathenaicus he says: "I have had my share of the greatest blessings that all men would pray to receive. In the first place, I have had health of body and of mind in no common measure, but to such a degree as to rival those who have been most fortunate in each of these respects. In the next place, I have had an affluence of the means of living, so as never to be deprived of any reasonable gratification that a man of sense would desire. Then I have never been overlooked or neglected, but have always ranked among those whom the most accomplished Greeks thought and spoke of as persons of character and influence. All these blessings have been mine, some superabundantly, others sufficiently." He then proceeds to point out cir-



cumstances in his lot which made him sometimes querulous and peevish.

Near the beginning of the oration, he states that, when he began it, he was ninety-four years old ; and towards the conclusion, he says that, when the composition was about half written, he was seized with a violent illness, which he "passed three years in combating"; that he was then persuaded by the urgency of friends, to whom he had read portions of it, to attempt its completion. He resumed the work, as he says, when he wanted but three years of a hundred, and in such a state of health as would have prevented anybody else, not only from attempting to write a discourse, but even from listening willingly to the discourse of another.

The oration on the Antidosis, or Exchange of Estates, contains valuable personal notices. The antidosis was a technical proceeding, by which the Attic law allowed a person on whom a costly liturgy had been imposed to call upon another citizen, whose estate he believed to be greater than his own, either to assume the office or to exchange estates. On one occasion, a person, Lysimachus probably, tendered to Isocrates the antidosis, and he, as the least of two evils, served the liturgy, and appears to have done it in a magnificent style. The discourse was composed many years after, in the form of a defence in a fictitious trial. Schöll commits an error, when he says that Isocrates pronounced it in defending himself against Lysimachus.

He begins by stating that he had been exposed to many calumnies from the Sophists, which he had disregarded ; but when far advanced in life, an exchange of estates had been tendered to him upon the trierarchy, and his opponent

made such statements in regard to his wealth that he was compelled to take upon himself the burden. He was then led to reflect upon the best method of refuting these injurious misrepresentations, and of setting his character, life, and pursuits in a true light before his contemporaries and future generations. "Upon mature consideration," he says, "I found I could effect this purpose in no other manner than by writing a discourse which should be, as it were, an image of my mind and life; for I hoped that by this means my character and actions would be best understood, and that the discourse itself would remain a much more honorable memorial than tablets of brass. . . . . With these views I set about the composition of the present discourse, not in the full vigor of my powers, but at the age of eighty-two." He says of himself: "I have so lived during the time that is past, that no one, either in the oligarchy or the democracy, has charged upon me any insolence or wrong, and no arbitrator or dicast has ever been called to sit in judgment upon my conduct."

He then describes himself as keeping aloof from political affairs, from courts of law, from assemblies, from the arbitrators, and contrasts his own habits with those of his enemies, who haunted every place of public resort, and intermeddled with suits and prosecutions of every kind. He states that he has written, not upon the common business of man with man, but upon subjects of general importance, — "Hellenic, political, and panegyric discourses," which rank, as works of art, with those compositions which are embellished with music and rhythm; that many desired to become his disciples, thinking that thus they might make

themselves wiser and better men. He then reviews his principal compositions, giving passages from the Panegyricus, the discourse on Peace, and the address to Nicocles. "These," says he, "having been written and published, I acquired great reputation and received many pupils, not one of whom would have remained with me, had they not found me to be such as they had supposed. And now, when there have been so many, some of whom have lived with me three years, not one will be seen to have found any fault with me; but at the end of the time, when they were about to sail home to their parents and friends, they were so attached to their residence, that they took their departure with a heavy heart and with tears." He then enumerates the pupils and friends who had received golden crowns from the city on account of their public merits; and, in fact, all the important circumstances and relations of his life are minutely described, so that the discourse answers the purpose he intended, of conveying an image of himself to posterity.

The Panegyricus has been selected for publication, partly because it is an excellent specimen of the best manner of Isocrates, and partly because, by its plan, it presents a review of the history of Athens from the mythical ages down to the period following the treaty of Antalcidas. It is a convenient work to make the text-book for lessons in Greek history, affording a central point around which to assemble the leading events.

The date of the Panegyricus has been discussed and differently settled by different scholars. The events al-

luded to in the discourse itself of course furnish the means of deciding this point approximately, but not exactly. The number of years during which Isocrates kept the work in his hands makes it uncertain whether these allusions to historical facts of his time are made with reference to the moment of writing the respective passages, or to the time of publication. Setting this element of uncertainty aside from the calculation, we may assume that the Panegyricus appeared about B. C. 380, since he speaks of the Cyprian war "being already in its sixth year," and that began B. C. 386. Of course it must have been published before the end of the war, B. C. 376, and the death of Evagoras; since there is no hint in the discourse of either of these events. This is the utmost limit. If the date assumed is correct, Isocrates finished the oration at the age of fifty-five or fifty-six. It was published in the time of the Spartan supremacy, — which lasted from the peace of Antalcidas, B. C. 387, to the battle of Leuctra, B. C. 371, — and about twenty years before the name of Philip of Macedon began to be heard of in Greece.

The object of the Panegyricus is the vindication of the Athenian claim to supremacy, and the reconciliation of the Greeks, particularly Sparta and Athens, for the purpose of assailing the Persians with their united forces.

After the introductory remarks upon the nature of the subject, — upon its having been often handled before, and the orator's own ideas upon the proper manner of treating it, — he proceeds to maintain the claims of Athens to the supremacy, on the ground of the antiquity of the

city, and the purity of the origin of the Athenians; then on the score of what Athens has done towards adorning, cultivating, and embellishing life; her services in founding colonies; her laws and institutions; her hospitality, and the liberal manner in which she has conducted herself towards other states; her elegant festivities and shows, in which genius was cultivated and honored; and her pursuit of literature, especially of eloquence and philosophy.

He then passes on to her history, beginning with the mythical ages, Adrastus, the Heracleidae, the wars with the Scythians, Thracians, Amazons, Persians. He touches lightly upon the Trojan times, but is especially emphatic upon the wars with Darius and Xerxes, in which the Spartans and Athenians were rivals. The Athenian pre-eminence was acknowledged then, and this fact is an argument in support of their present claim to the hegemony.\*

In the next place, he considers the conduct of the Athenians in administering their power, — their leniency, and their care for the safety of the allies, as contrasted with the oppression and cruelty of the Lacedaemonians, which have led to great disorders and disasters among the Greek states.

He then points out the folly of the Greeks in contending among themselves, when they might gain such advantages by uniting against the Persians; describes the

\* The term *ἡγεμονία*, which occurs very often in Greek historical writers, and in the orators, is rendered *primacy* by Mr. Grote, in his admirable History of Greece.

weakness of the Persians, and the proofs and sources of it; speaks of the natural hostility of the Greeks against the Barbarians, the reasons that encourage the Greeks to war, especially the favorable circumstances of the times, the state of Persia, and the necessity of such a union among the Greeks, in order to compose their own discords.

Finally, he argues that the Greeks should set their minds upon the prosperity they may transfer from Asia, and that they who have the power must study to reconcile the Spartans and Athenians. The orators are exhorted to renounce the petty subjects which now occupy them, and to expend their rivalries on this, which is by far the most important interest to which their attention can be directed.

It is unnecessary to sketch the plan and argument of this discourse in greater detail, as the main heads are dwelt upon at considerable length in the notes.

The text of the present edition is that of Bremi, in the *Bibliotheca Graeca*. Dobson, Becker, Spohn, Coray, and Rauchenstein have been consulted, and a variety of books have been drawn upon for the materials of illustration. The most important of these are Thirlwall and Grote's *Histories of Greece*, and Hofmann and Wachsmuth's works on the *Political and Historical Antiquities of the Greeks*.

C. C. FELTON.

CAMBRIDGE, July, 1847.



## PREFACE TO THE THIRD EDITION.

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I HAVE undertaken the revision of the notes to this edition of the Panegyricus, in compliance with a request of the late President Felton. Several months before his death, he decided to prepare a new edition, and desired me to add such grammatical or other notes as I might think expedient. His sudden death occurred before the work was begun, but I have still thought it my duty to comply with his request, so far as I was able. I have interpreted his wishes by my former experience in revising the notes to his second edition of the Birds of Aristophanes, in which I was able constantly to refer to his taste and judgment. His own copy of the Panegyricus contained a few additions and corrections, chiefly verbal, all of which are included in the present edition. There will also be found distributed through the notes a set of references to my "Syntax of the Moods and Tenses of the Greek Verb," which had been prepared for this purpose at Mr. Felton's request. These references are marked by the letter G. All notes which I have added myself, including even parts of sentences which materially affect the sense, are enclosed in brackets. I have omitted nothing,

except occasionally a note which was rendered unnecessary by something newly added, or one which I knew that President Felton would have omitted if he had revised the notes himself. The historical notes will generally be found unaltered, except where references to Grote's History of Greece have been added, or where quotations have been given instead of citations.

W. W. GOODWIN.

HARVARD COLLEGE, December, 1863.

THE PANEGYRICUS OF ISOCRATES.



# A. CORAË PRÆFATIO

## AD PANEGYRICUM.

Οὗτός ἐστιν ὁ περιβόητος Πανηγυρικὸς λόγος, ὡς μὲν τινες, δέκα, ὡς δὲ ἕτεροι, πεντεκαίδεκα γραφεῖς ἔτεσιν Ἴσοκράτει. Καὶ ἡ μὲν ἐπιγραφή τοῦ γένους τῶν ἐπιδεικτικῶν αὐτὸν εἶναι δηλοῖ. Ἀθηναίους γὰρ ἐγκωμιάζει, καὶ πολὺς ἐστὶν ἐν τοῖς τούτων ἐπαίνοις, πολὺ προέχειν Λακεδαιμονίων προθυμούμενος ἐπιδείξαι τοὺς αὐτοῦ πολί- 5 τας ὁ φιλόπατρις ῥήτωρ. Ἐγκατέμιξε δὲ τῷ λόγῳ οὐκ ὀλίγον καὶ τὸ συμβουλευτικόν· παραινεῖ γὰρ αὐτοῖς τε καὶ τοῖς Ἑλλησιν ἅπασι, διαλυσασμένοις τὸν πρὸς ἀλλήλους πόλεμον, καὶ παυσασμένοις τῆς ἀκαίρου φιλονεικίας, κοινῇ στρατεῦσαι ἐπὶ τὸν βάρβαρον. Διὸ καὶ ὁ Κικέρων παραινετικὸν αὐτὸν ὀνομάζει. Καὶ φησὶν Αἰλιανός, ὅτι 10 τούτου τοῦ λόγου εἰς Μακεδονίαν ἔλθοῦσα ἡ φήμη πρῶτον μὲν Φίλιππον ἐπὶ τὴν Ἀσίαν ἀνέστησεν, ἐκείνου δὲ τελευτήσαντος, πρὶν ἢ πέρας ἐπιθεῖναι τοῖς βεβουλευμένοις, τὸν υἱὸν Ἀλέξανδρον. Αἰτιῶνται δ' Ἴσοκράτην πολλὰ μετενεγκεῖν εἰς τὸν Πανηγυρικὸν ἐκ τῶν Γοργία τε καὶ Λυσία περὶ τὴν αὐτὴν ὑπόθεσιν σπουδασθέντων. 15 Καὶ τοῦ μὲν τῷ Λυσία γραφέντος ἐπιταφίου λόγου εὐρίσκεσθαι τινα καὶ ἐν τῷ Πανηγυρικῷ Ἴσοκράτους οὐκ ἔστιν ἀρνήσασθαι· τοῦ δὲ τῷ αὐτῷ Λυσία γεγραμμένου Ὀλυμπιακοῦ λόγου μικρὸν πάμπαν περιλέλειπται τεμάχιον, παρὰ Διονυσίῳ τῷ Ἀλικαρνασσεῖ σωζόμενον, ὡς οὐχ οἷόν τ' εἶναι ἐξ ἐκείνου τὸν Ἴσοκράτην εὐθύνειν. Τὸν δὲ 20 παραπλησίως ἐπιγραφόμενον καὶ μηκέτι σωζόμενον Ὀλυμπιακὸν Γοργίου εἰκὸς οὕτω γεγράφθαι, ὥσπερ καὶ τὸ σωζόμενον αὐτοῦ τῆς

Ἑλένης ἐγκώμιον, τουτέστιν εἰς ὄγκον ποιήσει μᾶλλον ἢ πεζῷ λόγῳ  
 πρέποντα ἐξηρμένον, ὡς φησιν ὁ δεινὸς τῶν τοιούτων ἐπιγνώμων  
 Ἀριστοτέλης. Πρὸς τοῦτο τοίνυν τὸ τῆς Ἑλένης ἐγκώμιον ἀντιπα-  
 ραβάλλων ὅπερ κατὰ ζῆλον Γοργίου Ἰσοκράτης ἀντέγραψεν Ἑλένης  
 5 ἐγκώμιον, καίπερ οὐδὲ τοῦτο σοφιστικῆς περιεργίας ἀπηλλαγμένον  
 παντάπασιν, οὐκ ἔστιν ὅστις ἂν τῶν καὶ κατὰ μικρὸν κριτικῆς ἐπι-  
 στήμης μετεilhχότων τοῦ Γοργιακοῦ μακρῷ προέχειν οὐχ ὁμολογή-  
 σειεν. Ἔστι δὲ τὸ τοιοῦτον παρά γε τοῖς εὖ φρονοῦσιν οὐ τᾶλλό-  
 τρια σφετερίζεσθαι, ἀλλὰ τὰ τοῖς ἄλλοις ἐλλιπῶς ἢ καὶ κακῶς  
 10 γραφέντα διασκευάζειν ἐπὶ τὸ βέλτιόν τε καὶ τελειότερον. Λέγω  
 δὲ τοῦτο περὶ Γοργίου μόνον· εἰσθῶ γὰρ ὁ Λυσίας ἐν τῷ παρόν-  
 τι, ἄλλως τε καὶ τῶν δοκιμωτάτων ὑπάρχων ῥητόρων, εἴ τινα τῶν  
 ἐκείνου μετενήνοχεν εἰς τὸν Πανηγυρικὸν Ἰσοκράτης, καὶ μὴ πολλῷ  
 μᾶλλον κατὰ συνέμπτωσιν, περὶ τῶν αὐτῶν ἐκείνῳ λέγων, τοῖς αὐ-  
 15 τοῖς ἐνθυμήμασιν ἠναγκάσθη χρῆσασθαι. “Οὐδὲν γὰρ κωλύει,”  
 φησὶν ὁ Φώτιος Ἰσοκράτους ὑπεραπολογούμενος, “ παραπλησίων  
 ἀνακυπτόντων πραγμάτων ταῖς ὁμοίαις ἐξεργασίαις χρῆσθαι καὶ τοῖς  
 ἐνθυμήμασιν, οὐχ ὑποβαλλόμενον τὰ ἀλλότρια, ἀλλὰ τῆς τῶν πρα-  
 γμάτων ἀναβλαστανούσης φύσεως τοιαῦτα, οἷα καὶ τοῖς προλαβοῦσι  
 20 προβαλομένη ἐπιδείκνυται.”



## ΠΑΝΗΓΥΡΙΚΟΣ.

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Πολλάκις ἐθαύμασα τῶν τὰς πανηγύρεις συναγα-  
γόντων καὶ τοὺς γυμνικοὺς ἀγῶνας καταστησάντων, ὅτι  
τὰς μὲν τῶν σωμάτων εὐεξίας οὕτω μεγάλων δωρεῶν  
ἠξίωσαν, τοῖς δ' ὑπὲρ τῶν κοινῶν ἰδίᾳ πονήσασι καὶ τὰς  
ἑαυτῶν ψυχὰς οὕτω παρασκευάσασιν, ὥστε καὶ τοὺς 5  
ἄλλους ὠφελεῖν δύνασθαι, τούτοις δ' οὐδεμίαν τιμὴν  
ἀπένειμαν, ὧν εἰκὸς ἦν αὐτοὺς μᾶλλον ποιήσασθαι  
πρόνοιαν· τῶν μὲν γὰρ ἀθλητῶν δις τοσαύτην ῥώμην  
λαβόντων, οὐδὲν ἂν πλέον γένοιτο τοῖς ἄλλοις, ἐνὸς δὲ  
ἀνδρὸς εὖ φρονήσαντος ἅπαντες ἂν ἀπολαύσειαν οἱ 10  
βουλόμενοι κοινωνεῖν τῆς ἐκείνου διανοίας.

Οὐ μὴν ἐπὶ τούτοις ἀθυμήσας εἰλόμην ῥαθυμεῖν, ἀλλ'  
ἱκανὸν νομίσας ἄθλον ἔσεσθαι μοι τὴν δόξαν τὴν ἀπ'  
αὐτοῦ τοῦ λόγου γενησομένην ἤκω συμβουλευσῶν περὶ  
τε τοῦ πολέμου τοῦ πρὸς τοὺς βαρβάρους καὶ τῆς ὁμο- 15  
νοίας τῆς πρὸς ἡμᾶς αὐτούς, οὐκ ἀγνοῶν, ὅτι πολλοὶ τῶν  
προσποισαμένων εἶναι σοφιστῶν ἐπὶ τούτῳ τὸν λόγον  
ὄρμησαν, ἀλλ' ἅμα μὲν ἐλπίζω τοσοῦτον διοίσειν,

ὥστε τοῖς ἄλλοις μηδὲν πρόποτε δοκεῖν εἰρήσθαι περ  
 αὐτῶν, ἅμα δὲ προκρίνας τούτους καλλίστους εἶναι τῶν  
 λόγων, οἵτινες περὶ μεγίστων τυγχάνουσιν ὄντες καὶ  
 τούς τε λέγοντας μάλιστ' ἐπιδεικνύουσι καὶ τοὺς ἀκού-  
 5 οντας πλείστ' ὠφελοῦσιν, ὧν εἰς οὗτός ἐστιν. Ἐπειτ  
 οὐδ' οἱ καιροὶ πω παρεληλύθασιν, ὥστ' ἤδη μάτην εἶναι  
 τὸ μεμνήσθαι περὶ τούτων. Τότε γὰρ χρὴ παύεσθαι  
 λέγοντας, ὅταν ἢ τὰ πράγματα λάβῃ τέλος καὶ μηκέτι  
 δέῃ βουλευέσθαι περὶ αὐτῶν, ἢ τὸν λόγον ἴδῃ τις ἔχον-  
 10 τα πέρασ, ὥστε μηδεμίαν λελεῖφθαι τοῖς ἄλλοις ὑπερ-  
 βολήν. Ἐως δ' ἂν τὰ μὲν ὁμοίως ὥσπερ πρότερον  
 φέρηται, τὰ δ' εἰρημένα φαύλως ἔχοντα τυγχάνῃ, πῶς  
 οὐ χρὴ σκοπεῖν καὶ φιλοσοφεῖν τούτον τὸν λόγον, ὅς,  
 ἦν κατορθωθῆ, καὶ τοῦ πολέμου τοῦ πρὸς ἀλλήλους  
 15 καὶ τῆς ταραχῆς τῆς παρούσης καὶ τῶν μεγίστων  
 κακῶν ἡμᾶς ἀπαλλάξει ;

Πρὸς δὲ τούτοις εἰ μὲν μηδαμῶς ἄλλως οἶόν τ'  
 ἦν δηλοῦν τὰς αὐτὰς πράξεις ἀλλ' ἢ διὰ μιᾶς ἰδέας,  
 εἶχεν ἂν τις ὑπολαβεῖν, ὡς περιέργον ἐστὶ τὸν αὐτὸν  
 20 τρόπον ἐκείνοις λέγοντα πάλιν ἐνοχλεῖν τοῖς ἀκούουσιν·  
 ἐπειδὴ δ' οἱ λόγοι τοιαύτην ἔχουσι τὴν φύσιν, ὥσθ'  
 οἶόν τ' εἶναι περὶ τῶν αὐτῶν πολλαχῶς ἐξηγήσασθαι,  
 καὶ τὰ τε μεγάλα ταπεινὰ ποιῆσαι καὶ τοῖς μικροῖς  
 μέγεθος περιθεῖναι, καὶ τὰ παλαιὰ καινῶς διελθεῖν καὶ  
 25 περὶ τῶν νεωστὶ γεγεννημένων ἀρχαίως εἰπεῖν, οὐκέτι  
 φευκτέον ταῦτ' ἐστὶ, περὶ ὧν ἕτεροι πρότερον εἰρή-  
 κασιν, ἀλλ' ἄμεινον ἐκείνων εἰπεῖν πειρατέον. Αἰ

μεν γὰρ πράξεις αἱ προγεγενημέναι κοινὰ πᾶσιν ἡμῖν κατέλειφθησαν, τὸ δ' ἐν καιρῷ ταύταις καταχρήσασθαι καὶ τὰ προσήκοντα περὶ ἐκάστης ἐνθυμηθῆναι καὶ τοῖς ὀνόμασιν εὖ διαθέσθαι τῶν εὖ φρονούντων ἰδιόν ἐστιν. Ἠγοῦμαι δ' οὕτως ἂν μεγίστην 5 ἐπίδοσιν λαμβάνειν καὶ τὰς ἄλλας τέχνας καὶ τὴν περὶ τοὺς λόγους φιλοσοφίαν, εἴ τις θαυμάζοι καὶ τιμῆν μὴ τοὺς πρώτους τῶν ἔργων ἀρχομένους, ἀλλὰ τοὺς ἀριστ' ἕκαστον αὐτῶν ἐξεργαζομένους, μηδὲ τοὺς περὶ τούτων ζητοῦντας λέγειν, περὶ ὧν μηδεὶς 10 πρότερον εἶρηκεν, ἀλλὰ τοὺς οὕτως ἐπισταμένους εἰπεῖν, ὡς οὐδεὶς ἂν ἄλλος δύναιτο.

Καίτοι τινὲς ἐπιτιμῶσι τῶν λόγων τοῖς ὑπὲρ τοὺς ἰδιώτας ἔχουσι καὶ λίαν ἀπηκριβωμένοις, καὶ τοσοῦτον διημαρτήκασιν, ὥστε τοὺς πρὸς ὑπερβολὴν πε- 15 πονημένους πρὸς τοὺς ἀγῶνας τοὺς περὶ τῶν ἰδίων συμβολαίων σκοποῦσιν, ὥσπερ ὁμοίως δέον ἀμφοτέρους ἔχειν, ἀλλ' οὐ τοὺς μὲν ἀσφαλῶς, τοὺς δ' ἐπιδεικτικῶς, ἢ σφᾶς μὲν διορῶντας τὰς μετριότητας, τὸν δ' ἀκριβῶς ἐπιστάμενον λέγειν ἀπλῶς οὐκ ἂν 20 δυνάμενον εἰπεῖν. Οὗτοι μὲν οὖν οὐ λελήθασιν, ὅτι τούτους ἐπαινοῦσιν, ὧν ἐγγὺς αὐτοῖς τυγχάνουσιν ὄντες. Ἐμοὶ δ' οὐδὲν πρὸς τοὺς τοιοῦτους, ἀλλὰ πρὸς ἐκείνους ἔστι τοὺς οὐδὲν ἀποδεξομένους τῶν εἰκῆ λεγομένων, ἀλλὰ δυσχερανοῦντας καὶ ζητήσον- 25 τας ἰδεῖν τι τοιοῦτον ἐν τοῖς ἐμοῖς, οἷον παρὰ τοῖς ἄλλοις οὐχ εὐρήσουσιν. Πρὸς οὓς ἔτι μικρὸν ὑπὲρ

ἔμαντοῦ θρασυνάμενος ἤδη περὶ τοῦ πράγματος ποι-  
 ῆσομαι τοὺς λόγους. Τοὺς μὲν γὰρ ἄλλους ἐν τοῖς  
 προοιμίοις ὀρῶ καταπραΰνοντας τοὺς ἀκροατάς, καὶ  
 προφασίζομένους ὑπὲρ τῶν μελλόντων ρηθήσεσθαι, καὶ  
 5 λέγοντας τοὺς μὲν, ὡς ἐξ ὑπογυίου γέγονεν αὐτοῖς  
 ἡ παρασκευή, τοὺς δ', ὡς χαλεπὸν ἔστιν ἴσους τοὺς  
 λόγους τῷ μεγέθει τῶν ἔργων ἐξευρεῖν. Ἐγὼ δ'  
 ἦν μὴ καὶ τοῦ πράγματος ἀξίως εἶπω καὶ τῆς δό-  
 ξης τῆς ἔμαντοῦ καὶ τοῦ χρόνου, μὴ μόνον τοῦ περὶ  
 10 τὸν λόγον ἡμῖν διατριφθέντος, ἀλλὰ καὶ σύμπαντος  
 οὗ βεβίωκα, παρακελεύομαι μηδεμίαν μοι συγγνώ-  
 μην ἔχειν, ἀλλὰ καταγελᾶν καὶ καταφρονεῖν· οὐδὲν  
 γὰρ ὅ τι τῶν τοιούτων οὐκ ἀξίός εἰμι πάσχειν,  
 εἴπερ μηδὲν τῶν ἄλλων διαφέρων οὕτω μεγάλας ποι-  
 15 οὔμαι τὰς ὑποσχέσεις. Περὶ μὲν οὖν τῶν ἰδίων  
 ταῦτά μοι προειρήσθω.

Περὶ δὲ τῶν κοινῶν, ὅσοι μὲν εὐθύς ἐπελθόντες  
 διδάσκουσιν, ὡς χρῆ διαλυσαμένους τὰς πρὸς ἡμᾶς  
 αὐτοὺς ἔχθρας ἐπὶ τὸν βάρβαρον τραπέσθαι, καὶ  
 20 διεξέρχονται τὰς τε συμφορὰς τὰς ἐκ τοῦ πολέμου  
 τοῦ πρὸς ἀλλήλους ἡμῖν γεγενημένας καὶ τὰς ὠφε-  
 λείας τὰς ἐκ τῆς στρατείας τῆς ἐπ' ἐκεῖνον ἔσομέ-  
 νας, ἀληθῆ μὲν λέγουσιν, οὐ μὴν ἐντεῦθεν ποιοῦνται  
 τὴν ἀρχὴν, ὅθεν ἂν μάλιστα συστήσῃ ταῦτα δυ-  
 25 νηθεῖεν. Τῶν γὰρ Ἑλλήνων οἱ μὲν ὑφ' ἡμῖν, οἱ δ'  
 ὑπὸ Λακεδαιμονίοις εἰσίν· αἱ γὰρ πολιτεῖαι δι' ὧν  
 οἰκοῦσι τὰς πόλεις οὕτω τοὺς πλείστους αὐτῶν δι-

ειλήφασιν. "Ὅστις οὖν οἶεται τοὺς ἄλλους κοινῇ τι πράξειν ἀγαθόν, πρὶν ἂν τοὺς προεστῶτας αὐτῶν διαλλάξῃ, λίαν ἀπλῶς ἔχει καὶ πόρρω τῶν πραγμάτων ἐστίν. Ἄλλα δεῖ τὸν μὴ μόνον ἐπίδειξιν ποιούμενον, ἀλλὰ καὶ διαπράξασθαί τι βουλόμενον 5 ἐκείνους τοὺς λόγους ζητεῖν, οἵτινες τὸ πόλη τούτω πείσουσιν ἰσομοιρῆσαι πρὸς ἀλλήλας καὶ τὰς θ' ἡγεμονίας διελέσθαι καὶ τὰς πλεονεξίας, ἃς νῦν παρὰ τῶν Ἑλλήνων ἐπιθυμοῦσιν αὐταῖς γίγνεσθαι, ταύτας παρὰ τῶν βαρβάρων ποιήσασθαι. 10

Τὴν μὲν οὖν ἡμετέραν πόλιν ῥάδιον ἐπὶ ταῦτα προαγαγεῖν, Λακεδαιμόνιοι δὲ νῦν μὲν ἔτι δυσπείστως ἔχουσι· παρειλήφασι γὰρ ψευδῆ λόγον, ὡς ἔστιν αὐτοῖς ἡγεῖσθαι πάτριον· ἦν δ' ἐπίδειξῃ τις αὐτοῖς ταύτην τὴν τιμὴν ἡμετέραν οὔσαν μᾶλλον ἢ ἐκεί- 15 νων, τάχ' ἂν ἐάσαντες τὸ διακριβοῦσθαι περὶ τούτων ἐπὶ τὸ συμφέρον ἔλθοιεν. Ἐχρῆν μὲν οὖν καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους ἐντεῦθεν ἄρχεσθαι καὶ μὴ πρότερον περὶ τῶν ὁμολογουμένων συμβουλευεῖν, πρὶν περὶ τῶν ἀμφισβητουμένων ἡμᾶς ἐδίδαξαν· ἐμοὶ δ' οὖν 20 ἀμφοτέρων ἕνεκα προσήκει περὶ ταῦτα ποιήσασθαι τὴν πλείστην διατριβήν, μάλιστα μὲν ἵνα προὔργου τι γένηται καὶ παυσάμενοι τῆς πρὸς ἡμᾶς αὐτοὺς φιλονικίας κοινῇ τοῖς βαρβάροις πολεμήσωμεν· εἰ δὲ τοῦτ' ἐστὶν ἀδύνατον, ἵνα δηλώσω τοὺς ἐμποδῶν ὄν- 25 τας τῇ τῶν Ἑλλήνων εὐδαιμονίᾳ, καὶ πᾶσι γένηται φανερόν, ὅτι καὶ πρότερον ἢ πόλις ἡμῶν δικαίως

τῆς θαλάττης ἤρξε καὶ νῦν οὐκ ἀδίκως ἀμφισβητεῖ  
 τῆς ἡγεμονίας. Τοῦτο μὲν γὰρ εἰ δεῖ τούτους ἐφ'  
 ἐκάστω τιμᾶσθαι τῶν ἔργων, τοὺς ἐμπειροτάτους ὄν-  
 τας καὶ μεγίστην δύναμιν ἔχοντας, ἀναμφισβητήτως  
 5 ἡμῖν προσήκει τὴν ἡγεμονίαν ἀπολαβεῖν, ἣν περὶ πρό-  
 τερον ἐτυγχάνομεν ἔχοντες· οὐδεὶς γὰρ ἂν ἐτέραν  
 πόλιν ἐπιδείξειε τοσοῦτον ἐν τῷ πολέμῳ τῷ κατὰ  
 γῆν ὑπερέχουσαν, ὅσον τὴν ἡμετέραν ἐν τοῖς κιν-  
 δύνοις τοῖς κατὰ θάλατταν διαφέρουσαν. Τοῦτο δ'  
 10 εἰ τινες ταύτην μὲν μὴ νομίζουσι δικαίαν εἶναι τὴν  
 κρίσιν, ἀλλὰ πολλὰς τὰς μεταβολὰς γίγνεσθαι (τὰς  
 γὰρ δυναστείας οὐδέποτε τοῖς αὐτοῖς παραμένειν),  
 ἀξιούσι δὲ τὴν ἡγεμονίαν ἔχειν ὥσπερ ἄλλο τι γέ-  
 ρας ἢ τοὺς πρώτους τυχόντας ταύτης τῆς τιμῆς ἢ  
 15 τοὺς πλείστων ἀγαθῶν αἰτίους τοῖς Ἑλλησιν ὄντας,  
 ἡγοῦμαι καὶ τούτους εἶναι μεθ' ἡμῶν· ὅσῳ γὰρ ἂν  
 τις πορρωτέρωθεν σκοπῇ περὶ τούτων ἀμφοτέρων,  
 τοσοῦτῳ πλεόν ἀπολείψομεν τοὺς ἀμφισβητοῦντας.

Ὁμολογεῖται μὲν γὰρ τὴν πόλιν ἡμῶν ἀρχαιοτά-  
 20 την εἶναι καὶ μεγίστην καὶ παρὰ πᾶσιν ἀνθρώποις  
 ὀνομαστοτάτην· οὕτω δὲ καλῆς τῆς ὑποθέσεως οὔσης,  
 ἐπὶ τοῖς ἐχομένοις τούτων ἔτι μᾶλλον ἡμᾶς προσήκει  
 τιμᾶσθαι. Ταύτην γὰρ οἰκοῦμεν οὐχ ἐτέρους ἐκβα-  
 λόντες οὐδ' ἐρήμην καταλαβόντες οὐδ' ἐκ πολλῶν  
 25 ἔθνῶν μιγάδες συλλεγόντες, ἀλλ' οὕτω καλῶς καὶ  
 γνησίως γεγόναμεν, ὥστ', ἐξ ἧσπερ ἔφυμεν, ταύτην  
 ἔχοντες ἅπαντα τὸν χρόνον διατελοῦμεν, αὐτόχθονες



ὄντες καὶ τῶν ὀνομάτων τοῖς αὐτοῖς οἷσπερ τοὺς οἰκειοτάτους τὴν πόλιν ἔχοντες προσειπεῖν· μόνοις γὰρ ἡμῖν τῶν Ἑλλήνων τὴν αὐτὴν τροφὸν καὶ πατρίδα καὶ μητέρα καλέσαι προσήκει. Καίτοι χρὴ τοὺς εὐλόγως μέγα φρονούντας καὶ περὶ τῆς ἡγεμονίας δικαίως ἀμφισβητοῦντας καὶ τῶν πατρίων πολ- 5 λάκις μεμνημένους τοιαύτην τὴν ἀρχὴν τοῦ γένους ἔχοντας φαίνεσθαι.

Τὰ μὲν οὖν ἐξ ἀρχῆς ὑπάρξαντα καὶ παρὰ τῆς τύχης δωρηθέντα τηλικαῦθ' ἡμῖν τὸ μέγεθός ἐστιν· 10 ὅσων δὲ τοῖς ἄλλοις ἀγαθῶν αἴτιοι γεγόναμεν, οὕτως ἀν' κάλλιστ' ἐξετάσαιμεν, εἰ τὸν τε χρόνον ἀπ' ἀρχῆς καὶ τὰς πράξεις τὰς τῆς πόλεως ἐφέξῃς διέλοι- μεν· εὐρήσομεν γὰρ αὐτὴν οὐ μόνον τῶν πρὸς τὸν πόλεμον κινδύνων, ἀλλὰ καὶ τῆς ἄλλης κατασκευῆς, 15 ἐν ἣ κατοικοῦμεν καὶ μεθ' ἧς πολιτευόμεθα καὶ δι' ἣν ζῆν δυνάμεθα, σχεδὸν ἀπάσης αἰτίαν οὔσαν. Ἀνάγκη δὲ προαιρεῖσθαι τῶν εὐεργεσιῶν μὴ τὰς διὰ μικρότητα διαλαθούσας καὶ κατασιωπηθείσας, ἀλλὰ τὰς διὰ τὸ μέγεθος ὑπὸ πάντων ἀνθρώπων καὶ 20 πάλαι καὶ νῦν καὶ πανταχοῦ λεγομένας καὶ μνημο- νευομένας.

Πρῶτον μὲν τοίνυν, οὐ πρῶτον ἢ φύσις ἡμῶν ἐδεήθη, διὰ τῆς πόλεως τῆς ἡμετέρας ἐπορίσθη· καὶ γὰρ εἰ μυθώδης ὁ λόγος γέγονεν, ὁμως αὐτῷ καὶ νῦν 25 ῥηθῆναι προσήκει. Δήμητρος γὰρ ἀφικομένης εἰς τὴν χώραν, ὅτ' ἐπλανήθη τῆς Κόρης ἀρπασθείσης, καὶ

πρὸς τοὺς προγόνους ἡμῶν εὐμενῶς διατεθείσης ἐκ  
 τῶν εὐεργεσιῶν, ἃς οὐχ οἶόν τ' ἄλλοις ἢ τοῖς με-  
 μνημένοις ἀκούειν, καὶ δούσης δωρεὰς, αἵπερ μέγι-  
 σται τυγχάνουσιν οὔσαι, τοὺς τε καρποὺς, οἱ τοῦ μὴ  
 5 θηριωδῶς ζῆν ἡμᾶς αἴτιοι γεγόνασι, καὶ τὴν τέλετὴν,  
 ἣς οἱ μετασχόντες περί τε τῆς τοῦ βίου τελευτῆς  
 καὶ τοῦ σύμπαντος αἰῶνος ἡδίους τὰς ἐλπίδας ἔχου-  
 σιν, οὕτως ἢ πόλις ἡμῶν οὐ μόνον θεοφιλῶς, ἀλλὰ  
 καὶ φιλανθρώπως ἔσχεν, ὥστε κυρία γενομένη τοι-  
 10 ούτων ἀγαθῶν οὐκ ἐφθόνησε τοῖς ἄλλοις, ἀλλ' ὧν  
 ἔλαβεν ἅπασι μετέδωκεν. Καὶ τὰ μὲν ἔτι καὶ νῦν  
 καθ' ἕκαστον τὸν ἐνιαυτὸν δείκνυμεν, τῶν δὲ συλ-  
 λήβδην τὰς χρεῖας καὶ τὰς ἐργασίας καὶ τὰς ὠφε-  
 λίας τὰς ἀπ' αὐτῶν γιγνομένας ἐδίδαξεν. Καὶ τού-  
 15 τοις ἀπιστεῖν μικρῶν ἔτι προστεθέντων οὐδεὶς ἂν  
 ἀξιόσειεν.

Πρῶτον μὲν γὰρ ἐξ ὧν ἂν τις καταφρονήσειε  
 τῶν λεγομένων ὡς ἀρχαίων ὄντων, ἐκ τῶν αὐτῶν  
 τούτων εἰκότως ἂν καὶ τὰς πράξεις γεγενῆσθαι νο-  
 20 μίσειεν· διὰ γὰρ τὸ πολλοὺς εἰρηκέναι καὶ πάν-  
 τας ἀκηκοένοι προσήκει μὴ καινὰ μὲν, πιστὰ δὲ  
 δοκεῖν εἶναι τὰ λεγόμενα περὶ αὐτῶν. Ἐπειτ' οὐ  
 μόνον ἐνταῦθα καταφυγεῖν ἔχομεν, ὅτι τὸν λόγον  
 καὶ τὴν φήμην ἐκ πολλοῦ παρειλήφαμεν, ἀλλὰ  
 25 καὶ σημείοις μείζουσιν ἢ τούτοις ἔστιν ἡμῖν χρή-  
 σασθαι περὶ αὐτῶν. Αἱ μὲν γὰρ πλείσται τῶν  
 πόλεων ὑπόμνημα τῆς παλαιᾶς εὐεργεσίας ἀπαρ-

χὰς τοῦ σίτου καθ' ἕκαστον ἑνιαυτὸν ὡς ἡμᾶς ἀπο-  
 πέμπουσι, ταῖς δ' ἐκλειπούσαις πολλάκις ἢ Πυ-  
 θία προσέταξεν ἀποφέρειν τὰ μέρη τῶν καρπῶν  
 καὶ ποιεῖν πρὸς τὴν πόλιν τὴν ἡμετέραν τὰ πά-  
 τρια. Καίτοι περὶ τίνων χρὴ μᾶλλον πιστεύειν 5  
 ἢ περὶ ὧν ὁ τε θεὸς ἀναιρεῖ καὶ πολλοῖς τῶν  
 Ἑλλήνων συνδοκεῖ, καὶ τὰ τε πάλαι ῥηθέντα τοῖς  
 παροῦσιν ἔργοις συμμαρτυρεῖ, καὶ τὰ νῦν γιγνό-  
 μενα τοῖς ὑπ' ἐκείνων εἰρημένοις ὁμολογεῖ; Χω-  
 ρὶς δὲ τούτων, ἦν ἅπαντα ταῦτ' ἔασαντες ἀπὸ τῆς 10  
 ἀρχῆς σκοπῶμεν, εὐρήσομεν, ὅτι τὸν βίου οἱ πρῶ-  
 τοι φανέντες ἐπὶ γῆς οὐκ εὐθύς οὕτως ὥσπερ νῦν  
 ἔχοντα κατέλαβον, ἀλλὰ κατὰ μικρὸν αὐτοὶ συνε-  
 πορίσαντο. Τίνας οὖν χρὴ μᾶλλον νομίζειν ἢ δω-  
 ρεᾶν παρὰ τῶν θεῶν λαβεῖν, ἢ ζητοῦντας αὐτοὺς 15  
 ἐντυχεῖν; Οὐ τοὺς ὑπὸ πάντων ὁμολογουμένους καὶ  
 πρῶτους γενομένους καὶ πρὸς τε τὰς τέχνας εὐ-  
 φνεστάτους ὄντας καὶ πρὸς τὰ τῶν θεῶν εὐσεβέ-  
 στατα διακειμένους; Καὶ μὴν ὄσης προσήκει τιμῆς  
 τυγχάνειν τοὺς τηλικούτων ἀγαθῶν αἰτίους, περίερ- 20  
 γον διδάσκειν. Οὐδεὶς γὰρ ἂν δύναίτο δωρεᾶν το-  
 σαύτην τὸ μέγεθος εὐρεῖν, ἥτις ἴση τοῖς πεπρα-  
 γμένοις ἐστίν.

Περὶ μὲν οὖν τοῦ μεγίστου τῶν εὐεργετημάτων  
 καὶ πρώτου γενομένου καὶ πᾶσι κοινοτάτου ταῦτ' 25  
 εἰπεῖν ἔχομεν. Περὶ δὲ τοὺς αὐτοὺς χρόνους ὀρώ-  
 σα τοὺς μὲν βαρβάρους τὴν πλείστην τῆς χώρας

κατέχοντας, τοὺς δ' Ἑλληνας εἰς μικρὸν τόπον κατακεκλειμένους καὶ διὰ σπανιότητα τῆς γῆς ἐπιβουλεύοντάς τε σφίσιν αὐτοῖς καὶ στρατείας ἐπ' ἀλλήλους ποιουμένους, καὶ τοὺς μὲν δι' ἔνδειαν τῶν  
 5 καθ' ἡμέραν, τοὺς δὲ διὰ τὸν πόλεμον ἀπολλυμένους, οὐδὲ ταῦθ' οὕτως ἔχοντα περιεΐδεν, ἀλλ' ἡγεμόνας εἰς τὰς πόλεις ἐξέπεμψεν, οἱ παραλαβόντες τοὺς μάλιστα βίου δεομένους, στρατηγοὶ καταστάντες αὐτῶν καὶ πολέμῳ κρατήσαντες τοὺς βαρβάρους,  
 10 πολλὰς μὲν ἐφ' ἑκατέρας τῆς ἡπείρου πόλεις ἔκτισαν, ἀπάσας δὲ τὰς νήσους κατώκισαν, ἀμφοτέρους δέ, καὶ τοὺς ἀκολουθήσαντας καὶ τοὺς ὑπομείναντας, ἔσωσαν· τοῖς μὲν γὰρ ἰκανὴν τὴν οἴκου χώραν κατέλιπον, τοῖς δὲ πλείω τῆς ὑπαρχούσης  
 15 ἐπόρισαν· ἅπαντα γὰρ περιεβάλλοντο τὸν τόπον ὃν νῦν τυγχάνομεν κατέχοντες. Ὡστε καὶ τοῖς ὕστερον βουλευθεῖσιν ἀποικίσαι τινὰς καὶ μιμήσασθαι τὴν πόλιν τὴν ἡμετέραν πολλὴν ῥαστώνην ἐποίησαν· οὐ γὰρ αὐτοὺς ἔδει κτωμένους χώραν διακινδυνεύειν,  
 20 ἀλλ' εἰς τὴν ὑφ' ἡμῶν ἀφορισθεῖσαν, εἰς ταύτην οἰκεῖν ἴοντας. Καίτοι τίς ἂν ταύτης ἡγεμονίαν ἐπιδείξειεν ἢ πατριωτέραν τῆς πρότερον γενομένης πρὶν τὰς πλείστας οἰκισθῆναι τῶν Ἑλληνίδων πόλεων, ἢ μᾶλλον συμφέρουσαν τῆς τοὺς μὲν βαρβάρους  
 25 ἀναστάτους ποιησάσης, τοὺς δ' Ἑλληνας εἰς τοσαύτην εὐπορίαν προαγαγούσης;

Οὐ τοίνυν, ἐπειδὴ τὰ μέγιστα συνδιέπραξε, τῶν

ἄλλων ὀλιγόρησεν, ἀλλ' ἀρχὴν μὲν ταύτην ἐποιή-  
 σατο τῶν εὐεργεσιῶν, τροφήν τοῖς δεομένοις εὐρεῖν,  
 ἦνπερ χρὴ τοὺς μέλλοντας καὶ περὶ τῶν ἄλλων  
 καλῶς διοικήσειν, ἠγούμενη δὲ τὸν βίον τὸν ἐπὶ τού- 5  
 τοις μόνον οὐπω τοῦ ζῆν ἐπιθυμεῖν ἀξίως ἔχειν οὐ-  
 τως ἐπεμελήθη καὶ τῶν λοιπῶν, ὥστε τῶν παρόντων  
 τοῖς ἀνθρώποις ἀγαθῶν, ὅσα μὴ παρὰ θεῶν ἔχομεν,  
 ἀλλὰ δι' ἀλλήλους ἡμῖν γέγονε, μηδὲν μὲν ἄνευ τῆς  
 πόλεως τῆς ἡμετέρας εἶναι, τὰ δὲ πλείιστα διὰ ταύ-  
 την γεγενῆσθαι. Παραλαβοῦσα γὰρ τοὺς Ἕλληνας 10  
 ἀνόμως ζῶντας καὶ σποράδην οἰκοῦντας, καὶ τοὺς  
 μὲν ὑπὸ δυνασκειῶν ὑβριζομένους, τοὺς δὲ δι' ἀναρ-  
 χίαν ἀπολλυμένους, καὶ τούτων τῶν κακῶν αὐτοὺς  
 ἀπήλλαξε, τῶν μὲν κυρία γενομένη, τοῖς δ' αὐτὴν  
 παράδειγμα ποιήσασα· πρώτη γὰρ καὶ νόμους ἔθε- 15  
 το καὶ πολιτείαν κατεστήσατο. Δῆλον δ' ἐκείθεν·  
 οἱ γὰρ ἐν ἀρχῇ περὶ τῶν φονικῶν ἐγκαλέσαντες,  
 καὶ βουλευθέντες μετὰ λόγου καὶ μὴ μετὰ βίας  
 διαλύσασθαι τὰ πρὸς ἀλλήλους, ἐν τοῖς νόμοις τοῖς  
 ἡμετέροις τὰς κρίσεις ἐποίησαντο περὶ αὐτῶν. 20

Καὶ μὲν δὴ καὶ τῶν τεχνῶν τὰς τε πρὸς τὰναγα-  
 καῖα τοῦ βίου χρησίμας καὶ τὰς πρὸς ἡδονὴν μεμη-  
 χανημένας, τὰς μὲν εὐρούσα, τὰς δὲ δοκιμάσασα  
 χρῆσθαι τοῖς ἄλλοις παρέδωκεν. Τὴν τοίνυν ἄλλην  
 διοίκησιν οὕτω φιλοξένως κατεσκευάσατο καὶ πρὸς 25  
 ἅπαντας οἰκείως, ὥστε καὶ τοῖς χρημάτων δεομένοις  
 καὶ τοῖς ἀπολαῦσαι τῶν ὑπαρχόντων ἐπιθυμοῦσιν

ἀμφοτέροις ἀρμόττειν, καὶ μήτε τοῖς εὐδαιμονοῦσι  
 μήτε τοῖς δυστυχοῦσιν ἐν ταῖς αὐτῶν ἀχρήστως  
 ἔχειν, ἀλλ' ἐκατέροις αὐτῶν εἶναι παρ' ἡμῖν, τοῖς  
 μὲν ἠδίστας διατριβάς, τοῖς δὲ ἀσφαλεστάτην κατα-  
 5 φυγὴν. Ἔτι δὲ τὴν χώραν οὐκ αὐτάρκη κεκτημένον  
 ἐκάστων, ἀλλὰ τὰ μὲν ἐλλείπουσαν, τὰ δὲ πλείω  
 τῶν ἱκανῶν φέρουσαν, καὶ πολλῆς ἀπορίας οὔσης  
 τὰ μὲν ὅπου χρῆ διαθέσθαι, τὰ δ' ὀπόθεν εἰσαγα-  
 γέσθαι, καὶ ταύταις ταῖς συμφοραῖς ἐπήμυνεν· ἐμ-  
 10 πόριον γὰρ ἐν μέσῳ τῆς Ἑλλάδος τὸν Πειραιᾶ  
 κατεσκευάσατο, τοσαύτην ἔχουθ' ὑπερβολὴν, ὥσθ' ἂ  
 παρὰ τῶν ἄλλων ἐν παρ' ἐκάστων χαλεπὸν ἐστὶ  
 λαβεῖν, ταῦθ' ἅπαντα παρ' αὐτῆς ρᾶδιον εἶναι πο-  
 ρίσασθαι.

15 Τῶν τοίνυν τὰς πανηγύρεις καταστησάντων δι-  
 καίως ἐπαινουμένων, ὅτι τοιοῦτον ἔθος ἡμῖν παρέ-  
 δοσαν, ὥστε σπείσαμένους πρὸς ἀλλήλους καὶ τὰς  
 ἔχθρας τὰς ἐνεστηκυίας διαλυσαμένους συνελθεῖν εἰς  
 ταῦτόν, καὶ μετὰ ταῦτ' εὐχὰς καὶ θυσίας κοινὰς  
 20 ποιησαμένους ἀναμνησθῆναι μὲν τῆς συγγενείας τῆς  
 πρὸς ἀλλήλους ὑπαρχούσης, εὐμενεστέρωσ δ' εἰς τὸν  
 λοιπὸν χρόνον διατεθῆναι πρὸς ἡμᾶς αὐτούς, καὶ  
 τάς τε παλαιὰς ξενίας ἀνανεώσασθαι καὶ καινὰς  
 ἐτέρας ποιήσασθαι, καὶ μήτε τοῖς ἰδιώταις μήτε τοῖς  
 25 διενεγκοῦσι τὴν φύσιν ἀργὸν εἶναι τὴν διατριβήν,  
 ἀλλ' ἀθροισθέντων τῶν Ἑλλήνων ἐγγενέσθαι τοῖς  
 μὲν ἐπιδείξασθαι τὰς αὐτῶν εὐτυχίας, τοῖς δὲ θε-



άσασθαι τοίτους πρὸς ἀλλήλους ἀγωνιζομένους, καὶ μηδετέρους ἀθύμως διάγειν, ἀλλ' ἑκατέρους ἔχειν ἐφ' οἷς φιλοτιμηθῶσιν, οἱ μὲν ὅταν ἴδωσι τοὺς ἀθλητὰς αὐτῶν ἔνεκα πονοῦντας, οἱ δ' ὅταν ἐνθυμηθῶσιν, ὅτι πάντες ἐπὶ τὴν σφετέραν θεωρίαν ἤκουσι, — τοσοῦτων τοίνυν ἀγαθῶν διὰ τὰς συνόδους ἡμῖν γιγνομένων, οὐδ' ἐν τούτοις ἡ πόλις ἡμῶν ἀπελείφθη. Καὶ γὰρ θεάματα πλείστα καὶ κάλλιστα κέκτηται, τὰ μὲν ταῖς δαπάναις ὑπερβάλλοντα, τὰ δὲ κατὰ τὰς τέχνας εὐδοκιμοῦντα, τὰ δ' ἀμφοτέρους τούτοις διαφέροντα· καὶ τὸ πλῆθος τῶν εἰσαφικνουμένων ὡς ἡμᾶς τοσοῦτόν ἐστιν, ὥστ', εἴ τι ἐν τῷ πλησιάζειν ἀλλήλοις ἀγαθόν ἐστι, καὶ τοῦθ' ὑπ' αὐτῆς περιελήφθαι.

Πρὸς δὲ τούτοις καὶ φιλίας εὐρεῖν πιστοτάτας καὶ συνουσίαις ἐντυχεῖν παντοδαπωτάταις μάλιστα παρ' ἡμῖν ἔστιν, ἔτι δὲ ἀγῶνας ἰδεῖν, μὴ μόνου τάχους καὶ ῥώμης, ἀλλὰ καὶ λόγων καὶ γνώμης καὶ τῶν ἄλλων ἔργων ἀπάντων, καὶ τούτων ἄθλα μέγιστα. Πρὸς γὰρ οἷς αὐτὴ τίθησι καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους διδόναι συναναπαίθει· τὰ γὰρ ὑφ' ἡμῶν κριθέντα τοσαύτην λαμβάνει δόξαν, ὥστε παρὰ πᾶσιν ἀνθρώποις ἀγαπᾶσθαι. Χωρὶς δὲ τούτων αἱ μὲν ἄλλαι πανηγύρεις διὰ πολλοῦ χρόνου συλλεγεῖσαι ταχέως διελύθησαν, ἡ δ' ἡμετέρα πόλις ἅπαντα τὸν αἰῶνα τοῖς ἀφικνουμένοις πανηγυρὶς ἐστιν.

Φιλοσοφίαν τοίνυν, ἡ πάντα ταῦτα συνεξέυρε καὶ

συγκατεσκεύασε, καὶ πρὸς τε τὰς πράξεις ἡμῶν  
 ἐπαίδευσεν καὶ πρὸς ἀλλήλους ἐπράυνεν, καὶ τῶν συμ-  
 φορῶν τὰς τε δι' ἀμαθίαν καὶ τὰς ἐξ ἀνάγκης γι-  
 γνομένας διεΐλε, καὶ τὰς μὲν φυλάξασθαι, τὰς δὲ  
 5 καλῶς ἐνεγκεῖν ἐδίδαξεν, ἡ πόλις ἡμῶν κατέδειξε,  
 καὶ λόγους ἐτίμησεν, ὧν πάντες μὲν ἐπιθυμοῦσι, τοῖς  
 δ' ἐπισταμένοις φθονοῦσι, συνειδυῖα μὲν, ὅτι τοῦτο  
 μόνον ἐξ ἀπάντων τῶν ζώων ἴδιον ἔφυμεν ἔχοντες,  
 καὶ διότι τούτῳ πλεονεκτήσαντες καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις  
 10 ἅπασιν αὐτῶν διηνέγκαμεν, ὁρώσα δὲ περὶ μὲν τὰς  
 ἄλλας πράξεις οὕτω ταραχώδεις οὔσας τὰς τύχας,  
 ὥστε πολλάκις ἐν αὐταῖς καὶ τοὺς φρονίμους ἀτυ-  
 χεῖν καὶ τοὺς ἀνοήτους κατορθοῦν, τῶν δὲ λόγων  
 τῶν καλῶς καὶ τεχνικῶς ἐχόντων οὐ μετὸν τοῖς  
 15 φαύλοις, ἀλλὰ ψυχῆς εὐφρονούσης ἔργον ὄντας, καὶ  
 τοὺς τε σοφοὺς καὶ τοὺς ἀμαθεῖς δοκοῦντας εἶναι  
 ταύτῃ πλεῖστον ἀλλήλων διαφέροντας, ἔτι δὲ τοὺς  
 εὐθὺς ἐξ ἀρχῆς ἐλευθέρως τεθραμμένους ἐκ μὲν ἀν-  
 δρίας καὶ πλούτου καὶ τῶν τοιούτων ἀγαθῶν οὐ  
 20 γιγνωσκομένους, ἐκ δὲ τῶν λεγομένων μάλιστα κα-  
 ταφανεῖς γιγνομένους, καὶ τοῦτο σύμβολον τῆς παι-  
 δεύσεως ἡμῶν ἐκάστου πιστότατον ἀποδεδειγμένον,  
 καὶ τοὺς λόγῳ καλῶς χρωμένους οὐ μόνον ἐν ταῖς  
 αὐτῶν δυναμένους, ἀλλὰ καὶ παρὰ τοῖς ἄλλοις ἐν-  
 25 τίμους ὄντας.

Τοσοῦτον δ' ἀπολέλοιπεν ἡ πόλις ἡμῶν περὶ τὸ  
 φρονεῖν καὶ λέγειν τοὺς ἄλλους ἀνθρώπους, ὥσθ' οἱ

ταύτης μαθηταὶ τῶν ἄλλων διδάσκαλοι γεγόνασι, καὶ τὸ τῶν Ἑλλήνων ὄνομα πεποίηκε μηκέτι τοῦ γένους, ἀλλὰ τῆς διανοίας δοκεῖν εἶναι, καὶ μᾶλλον Ἑλληνας καλεῖσθαι τοὺς τῆς παιδείσεως τῆς ἡμετέρας ἢ τοὺς τῆς κοινῆς φύσεως μετέχοντας.

5

Ἰνα δὲ μὴ δοκῶ περὶ τὰ μέρη διατρίβειν ὑπὲρ ὅλων τῶν πραγμάτων ὑποθέμενος μὴδ' ἐκ τούτων ἐγκωμιάζειν τὴν πόλιν ἀπορῶν τὰ πρὸς τὸν πόλεμον αὐτὴν ἐπαιεῖν, ταῦτα μὲν εἰρήσθω μοι πρὸς τοὺς ἐπὶ τοῖς τοιούτοις φιλοτιμουμένους, ἡγοῦμαι δὲ 10 τοῖς προγόνοις ἡμῶν οὐχ ἥττον ἐκ τῶν κινδύνων τιμᾶσθαι προσήκειν ἢ τῶν ἄλλων εὐεργεσιῶν. Οὐ γὰρ μικροὺς οὐδ' ὀλίγους οὐδ' ἀφανεῖς ἀγῶνας ὑπέμειναν, ἀλλὰ πολλοὺς καὶ δεινοὺς καὶ μεγάλους, τοὺς μὲν ὑπὲρ τῆς αὐτῶν χώρας, τοὺς δ' ὑπὲρ τῆς 15 τῶν ἄλλων ἐλευθερίας· ἅπαντα γὰρ τὸν χρόνον διετέλεσαν κοινὴν τὴν πόλιν παρέχοντες καὶ τοῖς ἀδικουμένοις ἀεὶ τῶν Ἑλλήνων ἐπαμύνουσαν. Διὸ δὴ καὶ κατηγοροῦσί τινες ἡμῶν ὡς οὐκ ὀρθῶς βουλευομένων, ὅτι τοὺς ἀσθενεστέρους εἰθίσμεθα θερα- 20 πεύειν, ὥσπερ οὐ μετὰ τῶν ἐπαιεῖν βουλομένων ἡμᾶς τοὺς λόγους ὄντας τοὺς τοιούτους. Οὐ γὰρ ἀγνοοῦντες ὅσον διαφέρουσιν αἱ μείζους τῶν συμμαχιῶν πρὸς τὴν ἀσφάλειαν οὕτως ἐβουλευόμεθα περὶ αὐτῶν, ἀλλὰ πολὺ τῶν ἄλλων ἀκριβέστερον 25 εἰδότες τὰ συμβαίνοντ' ἐκ τῶν τοιούτων ὅμως ἡρούμεθα τοῖς ἀσθενεστέροις καὶ παρὰ τὸ συμφέρον

βοηθεῖν μάλλον ἢ τοῖς κρείττοσι τοῦ λυσιτελοῦντος ἕνεκα συναδικεῖν.

Γνοίη δ' ἄν τις καὶ τὸν τρόπον καὶ τὴν ῥώμην τὴν τῆς πόλεως ἐκ τῶν ἱκετειῶν, ἃς ἤδη τινὲς ἡμῖν ἐποίησαντο. Τὰς μὲν οὖν ἢ νεωστὶ γεγενημένας ἢ περὶ μικρῶν ἐλθούσας παραλείψω· πολὺ δὲ πρὸ τῶν Τρωϊκῶν, (ἐκείθεν γὰρ δίκαιον τὰς πίστεισ λαμβάνειν τοὺς ὑπὲρ τῶν πατρίων ἀμφισβητοῦντας) ἦλθον οἱ θ' Ἑρακλέους παῖδες καὶ μικρὸν πρὸ τούτων Ἰδραστός ὁ Ταλαοῦ, βασιλεὺς ὦν Ἀργούς, οὗτος μὲν ἐκ τῆς στρατείας τῆς ἐπὶ Θήβας δεδυστυχηκώς, καὶ τοὺς ὑπὸ τῇ Καδμείᾳ τελευτήσαντας αὐτὸς μὲν οὐκ δυνάμενος ἀνελέσθαι, τὴν δὲ πόλιν ἀξιῶν βοηθεῖν ταῖς κοιναῖς τύχαις καὶ μὴ περιορᾶν τοὺς ἐν τοῖς πολέμοις ἀποθνήσκοντας ἀτάφους γιγνομένους μηδὲ παλαιὸν ἔθος καὶ πάτριον νόμον καταλυόμενον, οἱ δ' Ἑρακλέους παῖδες φεύγοντες τὴν Εὐρυσθέως ἔχθραν, καὶ τὰς μὲν ἄλλας πόλεις ὑπερορῶντες ὡς οὐκ ἂν δυναμένας βοηθῆσαι ταῖς ἑαυτῶν συμφοραῖς, τὴν δ' ἡμετέραν ἱκανὴν νομίζοντες εἶναι μόνην ἀποδοῦναι χάριν ὑπὲρ ὧν ὁ πατὴρ αὐτῶν ἅπαντας ἀνθρώπους εὐεργέτησεν. Ἐκ δὲ τούτων ῥάδιον κατιδεῖν, ὅτι καὶ κατ' ἐκείνον τὸν χρόνον ἢ πόλις ἡμῶν ἡγεμονικῶς εἶχε· τίς γὰρ ἂν ἱκετεύειν τολμήσειεν ἢ τοὺς ἥττους αὐτοῦ ἢ τοὺς ὑφ' ἑτέροις ὄντας, παραλιπὼν τοὺς μείζω δύναμιν ἔχοντας, ἄλλως τε καὶ περὶ πραγμάτων οὐκ ἰδίων, ἀλλὰ κοινῶν καὶ περὶ ὧν οὐδένας ἄλ-

λους εἰκὸς ἦν ἐπιμεληθῆναι πλὴν τοὺς προεστάναι  
 τῶν Ἑλλήνων ἀξιούοντας ; Ἐπειτ' οὐδὲ ψευσθέντες  
 φαίνονται τῶν ἐλπίδων, δι' ἃς κατέφυγον ἐπὶ τοὺς  
 προγόνους ἡμῶν. Ἀνελόμενοι γὰρ πόλεμον ὑπὲρ μὲν  
 τῶν τελευτησάντων πρὸς Θηβαίους, ὑπὲρ δὲ τῶν 5  
 παίδων τῶν Ἡρακλέους πρὸς τὴν Εὐρυσθέως δύνα-  
 μιν, τοὺς μὲν ἐπιστρατεύσαντες ἠνάγκασαν ἀποδοῦναι  
 θάψαι τοὺς νεκροὺς τοῖς προσήκουσι, Πελοποννησίῳ  
 δὲ τοὺς μετ' Εὐρυσθέως εἰς τὴν χώραν ἡμῶν εἰσβα-  
 λόντας ἐπεξελθόντες ἐνίκησαν μαχόμενοι κάκεινον τῆς 10  
 ὕβρεως ἔπαυσαν. Θαυμαζόμενοι δὲ καὶ διὰ τὰς ἄλ-  
 λας πράξεις, ἐκ τούτων τῶν ἔργων ἔτι μᾶλλον εὐδο-  
 κίμησαν. Οὐ γὰρ παρὰ μικρὸν ἐποίησαν, ἀλλὰ το-  
 σοῦτον τὰς τύχας ἐκατέρων μετήλλαξαν, ὥσθ' ὁ μὲν  
 ἱκετεύει ἡμᾶς ἀξιῶσας βία τῶν ἐχθρῶν ἅπανθ' 15  
 ὄσων ἐδεήθη διαπραξάμενος ἀπῆλθεν, Εὐρυσθεὺς δὲ  
 βιάσασθαι προσδοκήσας αὐτὸς αἰχμάλωτος γενόμενος  
 ἱκέτης ἠναγκάσθη καταστήναι, καὶ τῷ μὲν ὑπερευγε-  
 κόντι τὴν ἀνθρωπίνην φύσιν, ὃς ἐκ Διὸς μὲν γεγο-  
 νῶς, ἔτι δὲ θνητὸς ὢν θεοῦ ῥώμην ἔσχε, τούτῳ μὲν 20  
 ἐπιτάττων καὶ λυμαινόμενος ἅπαντα τὸν χρόνον διε-  
 τέλεσεν, ἐπειδὴ δὲ εἰς ἡμᾶς ἐξήμαρτεν, εἰς τοσαύτην  
 κατέστη μεταβολὴν, ὥστ' ἐπὶ τοῖς παισὶ τοῖς ἐκείνου  
 γενόμενος ἐπονειδίστως τὸν βίον ἐτελεύτησεν.

Πολλῶν δ' ὑπαρχουσῶν ἡμῖν εὐεργεσιῶν εἰς τὴν 25  
 πόλιν τὴν Λακεδαιμονίων, περὶ ταύτης μόνης μοι  
 συμβέβηκεν εἰπεῖν· ἀφορμὴν γὰρ λαβόντες τὴν δι'

ἡμῶν αὐτοῖς γενομένην σωτηρίαν οἱ πρόγονοι μὲν  
 τῶν νῦν ἐν Λακεδαίμονι βασιλευόντων, ἔκγονοι δ'  
 Ἑρακλέους, κατῆλθον μὲν εἰς Πελοπόννησον, κατέ-  
 σχον δ' Ἄργος καὶ Λακεδαίμονα καὶ Μεσσήνην, οἰ-  
 5 κισταὶ δὲ Σπάρτης ἐγένοντο, καὶ τῶν παρόντων  
 ἀγαθῶν αὐτοῖς ἀπάντων ἀρχηγοὶ κατέστησαν. Ὡν  
 ἐχρῆν ἐκείνους μεμνημένους μηδέποτε εἰς τὴν χώραν  
 ταύτην εἰσβαλεῖν, ἐξ ἧς ὀρμηθέντες αὐτῶν οἱ πρόγο-  
 νοι τοσαύτην εὐδαιμονίαν κατεκτήσαντο, μηδ' εἰς κιν-  
 10 δύνους καθιστάναι τὴν πόλιν τὴν ὑπὲρ τῶν παίδων  
 τῶν Ἑρακλέους προκινδυνεύσασαν, μηδὲ τοῖς μὲν ἀπ'  
 ἐκείνου γεγονόσι διδόναι τὴν βασιλείαν, τὴν δὲ τῷ  
 γένει τῆς σωτηρίας αἰτίαν οὖσαν δουλεύειν αὐτοῖς  
 ἀξιούν. Εἰ δὲ δεῖ τὰς χάριτας καὶ τὰς ἐπιεικειάς  
 15 ἀνελόντας ἐπὶ τὴν ὑπόθεσιν πάλιν ἐπανελθεῖν καὶ  
 τὸν ἀκριβέστατον τῶν λόγων εἰπεῖν, οὐ δὴ που πά-  
 τριον ἔστιν ἠγείσθαι τοὺς ἐπήλυδας τῶν αὐτοχθόνων,  
 οὐδὲ τοὺς εὖ παθόντας τῶν εὖ ποιησάντων, οὐδὲ  
 τοὺς ἰκέτας γενομένους τῶν ὑποδεξαμένων.

20 Ἔτι δὲ συντομώτερον ἔχω δηλῶσαι περὶ αὐτῶν.  
 Τῶν μὲν γὰρ Ἑλληνίδων πόλεων, χωρὶς τῆς ἡμετέ-  
 ρας, Ἄργος καὶ Θῆβαι καὶ Λακεδαίμων καὶ τότε  
 ἦσαν μέγισται καὶ νῦν ἔτι διατελοῦσι. Φαίνονται  
 δ' ἡμῶν οἱ πρόγονοι τοσοῦτον ἀπάντων διενεγκόντες,  
 25 ὥσθ' ὑπὲρ μὲν Ἀργείων δυστυχησάντων Θηβαίοις,  
 ὅτε μέγιστον ἐφρόνησαν, ἐπιτάττοντες, ὑπὲρ δὲ τῶν  
 παίδων τῶν Ἑρακλέους Ἀργείους καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους



Πελοποννησίους μάχη κρατήσαντες, ἐκ δὲ τῶν πρὸς Εὐρυσθέα κινδύνων τοὺς οἰκιστὰς καὶ τοὺς ἡγεμόνας τοὺς Λακεδαιμονίων διασώσαντες. Ὡστε περὶ μὲν τῆς ἐν τοῖς Ἑλλησι δυναστείας οὐκ οἶδ' ὅπως ἄν τις σαφέστερον ἐπιδείξαι δυνηθείη.

5

Δοκεῖ δέ μοι καὶ περὶ τῶν πρὸς τοὺς βαρβάρους τῇ πόλει πεπραγμένων προσήκειν εἰπεῖν, ἄλλως τ' ἐπειδὴ καὶ τὸν λόγον κατεστησάμην περὶ τῆς ἡγεμονίας τῆς ἐπ' ἐκείνους. Ἀπαντας μὲν οὖν ἕξαριθμῶν τοὺς κινδύνους λίαν ἂν μακρολογοίην· ἐπὶ δὲ τῶν με- 10 γίστων τὸν αὐτὸν τρόπον ὄνπερ ὀλίγω πρότερον πειράσομαι καὶ περὶ τούτων διελθεῖν. Ἔστι γὰρ ἀρχικώτατα μὲν τῶν γενῶν καὶ μεγίστας δυναστείας ἔχοντα Σκύθαι καὶ Θράκες καὶ Πέρσαι, τυγχάνουσι δ' οὗτοι μὲν ἅπαντες ἡμῖν ἐπιβουλεύσαντες, ἡ δὲ πόλις πρὸς 15 ἅπαντας τούτους διακινδυνεύσασα. Καίτοι τί λοιπὸν ἔσται τοῖς ἀντιλέγουσιν, ἣν ἐπιδειχθῶσι τῶν μὲν Ἑλλήνων οἱ μὴ δυνάμενοι τυγχάνειν τῶν δικαίων ἡμᾶς ἰκετεύειν ἀξιούντες, τῶν δὲ βαρβάρων οἱ βουλόμενοι καταδουλώσασθαι τοὺς Ἕλληνας ἐφ' ἡμᾶς 20 πρῶτους ἰόντες ;

Ἐπιφανέστατος μὲν οὖν τῶν πολέμων ὁ Περσικὸς γέγονεν, οὐ μὴν ἐλάττω τεκμήρια τὰ παλαιὰ τῶν ἔργων ἐστὶ τοῖς περὶ τῶν πατρίων ἀμφισβητοῦσιν. Ἔτι γὰρ ταπεινῆς οὔσης τῆς Ἑλλάδος ἦλθον εἰς 25 τὴν χώραν ἡμῶν Θράκες μὲν μετ' Εὐμόλπου τοῦ Ποσειδῶνος, Σκύθαι δὲ μετ' Ἀμαζόνων τῶν Ἄρεως



θυγατέρων, οὐ κατὰ τὸν αὐτὸν χρόνον, ἀλλὰ καθ' ὃν  
 ἑκάτεροι τῆς Εὐρώπης ἐπῆρχον, μισοῦντες μὲν ἅπαν  
 τὸ τῶν Ἑλλήνων γένος, ἰδίᾳ δὲ πρὸς ἡμᾶς ἐγκλή-  
 ματα ποιησάμενοι, νομίζοντες ἐκ τούτου τοῦ τρόπου  
 5 πρὸς μίαν μὲν πόλιν κινδυνεύσειν, ἀπασῶν δὲ ἅμα  
 κρατήσειν. Οὐ μὴν κατώρθωσαν, ἀλλὰ πρὸς μόνους  
 τοὺς προγόνους τοὺς ἡμετέρους συμβαλόντες ὁμοίως  
 διεφθάρησαν, ὥσπερ ἂν εἰ πρὸς ἅπαντας ἀνθρώπους  
 ἐπολέμησαν. Δῆλον δὲ τὸ μέγεθος τῶν κακῶν τῶν  
 10 γενομένων ἐκείνοις· οὐ γὰρ ἂν ποθ' οἱ λόγοι περὶ  
 αὐτῶν τοσοῦτον χρόνον διέμειναν, εἰ μὴ καὶ τὰ πρα-  
 χθέντα πολὺ τῶν ἄλλων διήνεγκεν. Λέγεται δ' οὖν  
 περὶ μὲν Ἀμαζόνων, ὡς τῶν μὲν ἐλθουσῶν οὐδεμία  
 πάλιν ἀπῆλθεν, αἱ δ' ὑπολειφθεῖσαι διὰ τὴν ἐνθάδε  
 15 συμφορὰν ἐκ τῆς ἀρχῆς ἐξεβλήθησαν, περὶ δὲ Θρα-  
 κῶν, ὅτι τὸν ἄλλον χρόνον ὄμοροι προσοικούντες ἡμῖν  
 διὰ τὴν τότε γεγενημένην στρατείαν τοσοῦτον διέλι-  
 πον, ὥστ' ἐν τῷ μεταξὺ τῆς χώρας ἔθνη πολλὰ καὶ  
 γένη παντοδαπὰ καὶ πόλεις μεγάλας κατοικισθῆναι.  
 20 Καλὰ μὲν οὖν καὶ ταῦτα καὶ πρέποντα τοῖς περὶ  
 τῆς ἡγεμονίας ἀμφισβητοῦσιν· ἀδελφὰ δὲ τῶν εἰρη-  
 μένων καὶ τοιαῦθ', οἷά περ εἰκὸς τοὺς ἐκ τοιούτων  
 γεγονότας οἱ πρὸς Δαρεῖον καὶ Ξέρξην πολεμήσαντες  
 ἔπραξαν. Μεγίστου γὰρ πολέμου συστάντος ἐκείνου,  
 25 καὶ πλείστων κινδύνων εἰς τὸν αὐτὸν χρόνον συμπε-  
 σόντων, καὶ τῶν μὲν πολεμίων ἀνυποστάτων οἰομέ-  
 νων εἶναι διὰ τὸ πλῆθος, τῶν δὲ συμμάχων ἀνυπέρ-

βλητον ἡγουμένων ἔχειν τὴν ἀρετὴν, ἀμφοτέρων κρατήσαντες ὡς ἑκατέρων προσήκειν, καὶ πρὸς ἅπαντας τοὺς κινδύνους διενεγκόντες, εὐθύς μὲν τῶν ἀριστείων ἠξιώθησαν, οὐ πολλῶ δ' ὕστερον τὴν ἀρχὴν τῆς θαλάττης ἔλαβον, δόντων μὲν τῶν ἄλλων Ἑλλήνων, 5 οὐκ ἀμφισβητούντων δὲ τῶν νῦν ἡμᾶς ἀφαιρεῖσθαι ζητούντων.

Καὶ μηδεὶς οἰέσθω με ἀγνοεῖν, ὅτι καὶ Λακεδαιμόνιοι περὶ τοὺς καιροὺς τούτους πολλῶν ἀγαθῶν αἰτιοὶ τοῖς Ἑλλησι κατέστησαν· ἀλλὰ διὰ τοῦτο καὶ 10 μάλλον ἐπαινεῖν ἔχω τὴν πόλιν, ὅτι τοιούτων ἀνταγωνιστῶν τυχούσα τοσοῦτον αὐτῶν διήνεγκεν. Βούλομαι δ' ὀλίγῳ μακρότερα περὶ τοῖν πολέοιν εἰπεῖν καὶ μὴ ταχὺ λίαν παραδραμεῖν, ἵν' ἀμφοτέρων ἡμῖν ὑπόμνημα γένηται, τῆς τε τῶν προγόνων ἀρετῆς καὶ 15 τῆς πρὸς τοὺς βαρβάρους ἔχθρας. Καίτοι μ' οὐ λέληθεν, ὅτι χαλεπὸν ἐστὶν ὕστατον ἐπελθόντα λέγειν περὶ πραγμάτων πάλαι προκατειλημμένων καὶ περὶ ὧν οἱ μάλιστα δυνηθέντες τῶν πολιτῶν εἰπεῖν ἐπὶ τοῖς δημοσίᾳ θαπτομένοις πολλάκις εἰρήκασιν· ἀνάγκη γὰρ τὰ μὲν μέγιστ' αὐτῶν ἤδη κατακεκρῆσθαι, μικρὰ δέ τινα παραλείφθαι. Ὅμως δ' ἐκ τῶν ὑπολοίπων, ἐπειδὴ συμφέρει τοῖς πράγμασιν, οὐκ ὀκνητέον μνησθῆναι περὶ αὐτῶν.

Πλείστων μὲν οὖν ἀγαθῶν αἰτίους καὶ μεγίστων 25 ἐπαίνων ἀξίους ἡγοῦμαι γεγενῆσθαι τοὺς τοῖς σώμασιν ὑπὲρ τῆς Ἑλλάδος προκινδυνεύσαντας· οὐ μὴν οὐδὲ

τῶν πρὸ τοῦ πολέμου τούτου γενομένων καὶ δυνα-  
 στευσάντων ἐν ἑκατέρᾳ τοῖν πολέοιιν δίκαιον ἀμνημο-  
 νεῖν· ἐκείνοι γὰρ ἦσαν οἱ προασκήσαντες τοὺς ἐπι-  
 γιγνομένους καὶ τὰ πλήθη προτρέψαντες ἐπ' ἀρετὴν  
 5 καὶ χαλεποὺς ἀνταγωνιστὰς τοῖς βαρβάροις ποιήσαν-  
 τες. Οὐ γὰρ ὀλιγώρουν τῶν κοινῶν, οὐδ' ἀπέλανον  
 μὲν ὡς ἰδίων, ἡμέλουν δ' ὡς ἀλλοτρίων, ἀλλ' ἐκή-  
 δοντο μὲν ὡς οἰκείων, ἀπέιχοντο δ' ὥσπερ χρὴ τῶν  
 μηδὲν προσηκόντων· οὐδὲ πρὸς ἀργύριον τὴν εὐδαι-  
 10 μονίαν ἔκρινον, ἀλλ' οὗτος ἐδόκει πλοῦτον ἀσφαλέ-  
 στατον κεκτῆσθαι καὶ κάλλιστον, ὅστις τοιαῦτα τυγ-  
 χάνοι πράττων, ἐξ ὧν αὐτός τε μέλλοι μάλιστ' εὐδο-  
 κιμήσειν καὶ τοῖς παισὶ μεγίστην δόξαν καταλείψει.  
 Οὐδὲ τὰς θρασύτητας τὰς ἀλλήλων ἐξήλουν, οὐδὲ  
 15 τὰς τόλμας τὰς αὐτῶν ἤσκουν, ἀλλὰ δεινότερον μὲν  
 ἐνόμιζον εἶναι κακῶς ὑπὸ τῶν πολιτῶν ἀκούειν ἢ κα-  
 λῶς ὑπὲρ τῆς πόλεως ἀποθνήσκειν, μᾶλλον δ' ἠσχύ-  
 νοντ' ἐπὶ τοῖς κοινοῖς ἀμαρτήμασιν ἢ νῦν ἐπὶ τοῖς  
 ἰδίοις τοῖς σφετέροις αὐτῶν.  
 20 Τούτων δ' ἦν αἴτιον, ὅτι τοὺς νόμους ἐσκόπουν  
 ὅπως ἀκριβῶς καὶ καλῶς ἔξουσιν, οὐχ οὕτω τοὺς  
 περὶ τῶν ἰδίων συμβολαίων, ὡς τοὺς περὶ τῶν καθ'  
 ἑκάστην τὴν ἡμέραν ἐπιτηδευμάτων· ἠπίσταντο γάρ,  
 ὅτι τοῖς καλοῖς κἀγαθοῖς τῶν ἀνθρώπων οὐδὲν δεήσει  
 25 πολλῶν γραμμάτων, ἀλλ' ἀπ' ὀλίγων συνθημάτων ῥα-  
 δίως καὶ περὶ τῶν ἰδίων καὶ περὶ τῶν κοινῶν ὁμο-  
 νοήσουσιν. Οὕτω δὲ πολιτικῶς εἶχον, ὥστε καὶ τὰς

στάσεις ἐποιοῦντο πρὸς ἀλλήλους, οὐχ ὀπότεροι τοὺς  
 ἑτέρους ἀπολέσαντες τῶν λοιπῶν ἄρξουσιν, ἀλλ' ὀπό-  
 τεροι φθήσονται τὴν πόλιν ἀγαθόν τι ποιήσαντες·  
 καὶ τὰς ἑταιρείας συνήγουν οὐχ ὑπὲρ τῶν ἰδίᾳ συμ-  
 φερόντων, ἀλλ' ἐπὶ τῇ τοῦ πλήθους ὠφελείᾳ. Τὸν <sup>5</sup>  
 αὐτὸν δὲ τρόπον καὶ τὰ τῶν ἄλλων διώκουν, θερα-  
 πεύοντες, ἀλλ' οὐχ ὑβρίζοντες τοὺς Ἕλληνας, καὶ  
 στρατηγεῖν οἰόμενοι δεῖν, ἀλλὰ μὴ τυραννεῖν αὐτῶν,  
 καὶ μᾶλλον ἐπιθυμοῦντες ἡγεμόνες ἢ δεσπότες προσα-  
 γορεύεσθαι καὶ σωτήρες, ἀλλὰ μὴ λυμεῶνες ἀποκα- <sup>10</sup>  
 λείσθαι, τῷ ποιεῖν εὖ προσαγόμενοι τὰς πόλεις, ἀλλ'  
 οὐ βία καταστρεφόμενοι, πιστοτέροις μὲν τοῖς λόγοις  
 ἢ νῦν τοῖς ὅρκοις χρώμενοι, ταῖς δὲ συνθήκαις ὥσπερ  
 ἀνάγκαις ἐμμένειν ἀξιοῦντες, οὐχ οὕτως ἐπὶ ταῖς δυ-  
 ναστείαις μέγα φρονοῦντες, ὡς ἐπὶ τῷ σωφρόνως ζῆν <sup>15</sup>  
 φιλοτιμούμενοι, τὴν αὐτὴν ἀξιοῦντες γνώμην ἔχειν πρὸς  
 τοὺς ἥττους, ἢ ἢπερ τοὺς κρείττους πρὸς σφᾶς αὐτούς,  
 ἴδια μὲν ἄσθη τὰς αὐτῶν πόλεις ἡγούμενοι, κοινὴν δὲ  
 πατρίδα τὴν Ἑλλάδα νομίζοντες εἶναι.

Τοιαύταις διανοίαις χρώμενοι, καὶ τοὺς νεωτέρους <sup>20</sup>  
 ἐν τοῖς τοιούτοις ἤθεσι παιδεύοντες, οὕτως ἄνδρας  
 ἀγαθοὺς ἀπέδειξαν τοὺς πολεμήσαντας πρὸς τοὺς ἐκ  
 τῆς Ἀσίας, ὥστε μηδένα πώποτε δυνηθῆναι περὶ αὐ-  
 τῶν μήτε τῶν ποιητῶν μήτε τῶν σοφιστῶν ἀξίως  
 τῶν ἐκείνοις πεπραγμένων εἰπεῖν. Καὶ πολλὴν αὐ- <sup>25</sup>  
 τοῖς ἔχω συγγνώμην· ὁμοίως γάρ ἐστι χαλεπὸν  
 ἐπαινεῖν τοὺς ὑπερβεβληκότας τὰς τῶν ἄλλων ἀρετάς,

ὥσπερ τοὺς μηδὲν ἀγαθὸν πεποιηκότας· τοῖς μὲν γὰρ  
 οὐχ ὑπείσει πράξεις, πρὸς δὲ τοὺς οὐκ εἰσὶν ἀρμόττον-  
 τες λόγοι. Πῶς γὰρ ἂν γένοιτο σύμμετροι τοιού-  
 τοις ἀνδράσιν, οἳ τοσοῦτον μὲν τῶν ἐπὶ Τροίαν στρα-  
 5 τευσαμένων διήνεγκαν, ὅσον οἱ μὲν περὶ μίαν πόλιν  
 ἔτη δέκα διέτριψαν, οἱ δὲ τὴν ἐξ ἀπάσης τῆς Ἀσίας  
 δύναμιν ἐν ὀλίγῳ χρόνῳ κατεπολέμησαν, οὐ μόνον δὲ  
 τὰς αὐτῶν πατρίδας διέσωσαν, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὴν σύμπα-  
 σαν Ἑλλάδα ἠλευθέρωσαν; Ποίων δ' ἂν ἔργων ἢ  
 10 πόνων ἢ κινδύνων ἀπέστησαν, ὥστε ζῶντες εὐδοκιμεῖν,  
 οἷτινες ὑπὲρ τῆς δόξης ἧς ἔμελλον τελευτήσαντες  
 ἔξειν οὕτως ἐτοιμῶς ἤθελον ἀποθνήσκειν; Οἶμαι δὲ  
 καὶ τὸν πόλεμον θεῶν τινα συναγαγεῖν ἀγασθέντα  
 τὴν ἀρετὴν αὐτῶν, ἵνα μὴ τοιοῦτοι γενόμενοι τὴν φύ-  
 15 σιν διαλάβοιεν μηδ' ἀκλεῶς τὸν βίον τελευτήσαιεν,  
 ἀλλὰ τῶν αὐτῶν τοῖς ἐκ τῶν θεῶν γεγονόσι καὶ κα-  
 λουμένοις ἡμιθέοις ἀξιωθεῖεν· καὶ γὰρ ἐκείνων τὰ  
 μὲν σώματα ταῖς τῆς φύσεως ἀνάγκαις ἀπέδοσαν, τῆς  
 δ' ἀρετῆς ἀθάνατον τὴν μνήμην ἐποίησαν.

20 Ἄει μὲν οὖν οἷ θ' ἡμέτεροι πρόγονοι καὶ Λακε-  
 δαιμόνιοι φιλοτίμως πρὸς ἀλλήλους εἶχον, οὐ μὴν  
 ἀλλὰ περὶ καλλίστων ἐν ἐκείνοις τοῖς χρόνοις ἐφιλο-  
 νίκησαν, οὐκ ἐχθρούς, ἀλλ' ἀνταγωνιστὰς σφᾶς αὐ-  
 τοὺς εἶναι νομίζοντες, οὐδ' ἐπὶ δουλείᾳ τῇ τῶν Ἑλ-  
 25 λήνων τὸν βάρβαρον θεραπεύοντες, ἀλλὰ περὶ μὲν  
 τῆς κοινῆς σωτηρίας ὁμονοοῦντες, ὁπότεροι δὲ ταύτης  
 αἴτιοι γενήσονται, περὶ τούτου ποιούμενοι τὴν ἄμιλ-

λαν. Ἐπεδείξαντο δὲ τὰς αὐτῶν ἀρετὰς πρῶτον μὲν  
 ἐν τοῖς ὑπὸ Δαρείου πεμφθείσιν. Ἀποβάντων γὰρ  
 αὐτῶν εἰς τὴν Ἀττικὴν οἱ μὲν οὐ περιέμειναν τοὺς  
 συμμαχοὺς, ἀλλὰ τὸν κοινὸν πόλεμον ἴδιον ποιησάμε-  
 νοι πρὸς τοὺς ἀπάσης τῆς Ἑλλάδος καταφρονήσαν- 5  
 τας ἀπήντων τὴν οἰκείαν δύναμιν ἔχοντες, ὀλίγοι πρὸς  
 πολλὰς μυριάδας, ὥσπερ ἐν ἀλλοτρίαις ψυχαῖς μέλ-  
 λοντες κινδυνεύειν, οἱ δ' οὐκ ἔφθησαν πυθόμενοι τὸν  
 περὶ τὴν Ἀττικὴν πόλεμον, καὶ πάντων τῶν ἄλλων  
 ἀμελήσαντες ἦκον ἡμῖν ἀμννοῦντες, τοσαύτην ποιησά- 10  
 μνοι σπουδὴν, ὅσην περ ἂν τῆς αὐτῶν χώρας πορ-  
 θουμένης. Σημεῖον δὲ τοῦ τάχους καὶ τῆς ἀμίλλης·  
 τοὺς μὲν γὰρ ἡμετέροὺς προγόνους φασὶ τῆς αὐτῆς  
 ἡμέρας πυθέσθαι τε τὴν ἀπόβασιν τὴν τῶν βαρβά-  
 ρων, καὶ βοηθήσαντας ἐπὶ τοὺς ὄρους τῆς χώρας 15  
 μάχῃ νικήσαντας τρόπαιον στήσαι τῶν πολεμίων,  
 τοὺς δ' ἐν τρισὶν ἡμέραις καὶ τοσαύταις νυξὶ διακό-  
 σια καὶ χίλια στάδια διελθεῖν στρατοπέδῳ πορευομέ-  
 νους. Οὕτω σφόδρ' ἠπείχθησαν οἱ μὲν μετασχεῖν  
 τῶν κινδύνων, οἱ δὲ φθῆναι συμβαλόντες, πρὶν ἐλθεῖν 20  
 τοὺς βοηθήσοντας.

Μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα γενομένης τῆς ὕστερον στρατείας,  
 ἣν αὐτὸς Ξέρξης ἤγαγεν, ἐκλιπῶν μὲν τὰ βασίλεια,  
 στρατηγὸς δὲ καταστήναι τολμήσας, ἅπαντας δὲ τοὺς  
 ἐκ τῆς Ἀσίας συναγείρας· (περὶ οὗ τίς οὐχ ὑπερβο- 25  
 λὰς προθυμηθεὶς εἰπεῖν ἐλάττω τῶν ὑπαρχόντων εἴ-  
 ρηκεν;) ὃς εἰς τοσοῦτον ἤλθεν ὑπερηφανίας, ὥστε



μικρὸν μὲν ἠγησάμενος ἔργον εἶναι τὴν Ἑλλάδα χει-  
 ρώσασθαι, βουλευθεῖς δὲ τοιοῦτον μνημεῖον καταλι-  
 πεῖν, ὃ μὴ τῆς ἀνθρωπίνης φύσεώς ἐστιν, οὐ πρό-  
 τερον ἐπαύσατο, πρὶν ἐξεῦρε καὶ συνηνάγκασεν ὃ  
 5 πάντες θρυλοῦσιν, ὥστε τῷ στρατοπέδῳ πλεῦσαι μὲν  
 διὰ τῆς ἠπείρου, πεζεῦσαι δὲ διὰ τῆς θαλάττης,  
 τὸν μὲν Ἑλλήσποντον ζεύξας, τὸν δ' Ἄθω διορύξας.  
 Πρὸς δὲ τὸν οὕτω μέγα φρονήσαντα καὶ τηλικαῦ-  
 τα διαπραξάμενον καὶ τοσοῦτων δεσπότην γενόμενον  
 10 ἀπήντων διελόμενοι τὸν κίνδυνον, Λακεδαιμόνιοι μὲν  
 εἰς Θερμοπύλας πρὸς τὸ πεζόν, χιλίους αὐτῶν ἐπιλέ-  
 ξαντες καὶ τῶν συμμάχων ὀλίγους παραλαβόντες, ὡς  
 ἐν τοῖς στενοῖς κωλύσοντες αὐτοὺς περαιτέρω προελ-  
 θεῖν, οἱ δ' ἡμέτεροι πατέρες ἐπ' Ἀρτεμίσιον, ἐξήκον-  
 15 τα τριήρεις πληρώσαντες πρὸς ἅπαν τὸ τῶν πολε-  
 μίων ναυτικόν.

Ταῦτα δὲ ποιεῖν ἐτόλμων, οὐχ οὕτω τῶν πολεμίων  
 καταφρονοῦντες, ὡς πρὸς ἀλλήλους ἀγωνιῶντες, Λακε-  
 δαιμόνιοι μὲν ζηλοῦντες τὴν πόλιν τῆς Μαραθῶνι  
 20 μάχης, καὶ ζητοῦντες αὐτοὺς ἐξισῶσαι, καὶ δεδιότες,  
 μὴ δις ἐφεξῆς ἡ πόλις ἡμῶν αἰτία γένηται τοῖς Ἑλ-  
 λησι τῆς σωτηρίας, οἱ δ' ἡμέτεροι μάλιστα μὲν βου-  
 λόμενοι διαφυλάξαι τὴν παρούσαν δόξαν, καὶ πᾶσι  
 ποιῆσαι φανερόν, ὅτι καὶ τὸ πρότερον δι' ἀρετὴν,  
 25 ἀλλ' οὐ διὰ τύχην ἐνίκησαν, ἔπειτα καὶ προαγαγέ-  
 σθαι τοὺς Ἑλληνας ἐπὶ τὸ διαναυμαχεῖν, ἐπιδείξαντες  
 αὐτοῖς ὁμοίως ἐν τοῖς ναυτικοῖς κινδύνοις, ὥσπερ ἐν



τοῖς πεζοῖς, τὴν ἀρετὴν τοῦ πλήθους περιγιγνομένην.  
 Ἴσας δὲ τὰς τόλμας παρασχόντες οὐχ ὁμοίαις ἐχρή-  
 σαντο ταῖς τύχαις, ἀλλ' οἱ μὲν διεφθάρησαν καὶ ταῖς  
 ψυχαῖς νικῶντες τοῖς σώμασιν ἀπέειπον (οὐ γὰρ δὴ  
 τοῦτό γε θέμις εἶπεῖν, ὡς ἠττήθησαν· οὐδεὶς γὰρ 5  
 αὐτῶν φυγεῖν ἠξίωσεν), οἱ δ' ἡμέτεροι τὰς μὲν πρό-  
 πλους ἐνίκησαν, ἐπειδὴ δὲ ἤκουσαν τῆς παρόδου τοὺς  
 πολέμιους κρατοῦντας, οἵκαδε καταπλεύσαντες οὕτως  
 ἐβουλεύσαντο περὶ τῶν λοιπῶν, ὥστε πολλῶν καὶ  
 καλῶν αὐτοῖς προειργασμένων ἐν τοῖς τελευταίοις τῶν 10  
 κινδύνων ἔτι πλέον διήνεγκαν.

Ἀθύμως γὰρ ἀπάντων τῶν συμμάχων διακειμενων,  
 καὶ Πελοποννησίων μὲν διατειχιζόντων τὸν Ἴσθμὸν  
 καὶ ζητούντων ἰδίαν αὐτοῖς σωτηρίαν, τῶν ἄλλων πό-  
 λεων ὑπὸ τοῖς βαρβάροις γεγενημένων καὶ συστρα- 15  
 τευομένων ἐκείνοις, πλὴν εἴ τις διὰ μικρότητα ἡμε-  
 λήθη, προσπλευσῶν δὲ τριήρων διακοσίων καὶ χιλί-  
 ων καὶ πεζῆς στρατιᾶς ἀναριθμήτου μελλούσης εἰς  
 τὴν Ἀττικὴν εἰσβάλλειν, οὐδεμιᾶς σωτηρίας αὐτοῖς  
 ὑποφαινομένης, ἀλλ' ἔρημοὶ συμμάχων γεγενημένοι καὶ 20  
 τῶν ἐλπίδων ἀπασῶν διημαρτηκότες, ἔξον αὐτοῖς μὴ  
 μόνον τοὺς παρόντας κινδύνους διαφυγεῖν, ἀλλὰ καὶ  
 τιμὰς ἐξαιρέτους λαβεῖν, ἃς αὐτοῖς ἐδίδου βασιλεὺς  
 ἡγούμενος, εἰ τὸ τῆς πόλεως προσλάβοι ναυτικόν, πα-  
 ραχρῆμα καὶ Πελοποννήσου κρατήσειν, οὐχ ὑπέμει- 25  
 ναν τὰς παρ' ἐκείνου δωρεάς, οὐδ' ὀργισθέντες τοῖς  
 Ἕλλησιν, ὅτι προὔδοθήσαν, ἀσμένως ἐπὶ τὰς διαλ

λαγὰς τὰς πρὸς τοὺς βαρβάρους ὄρμησαν, ἀλλ' αὐτοὶ μὲν ὑπὲρ τῆς ἐλευθερίας πολεμεῖν παρεσκευάζοντο, τοῖς δ' ἄλλοις τὴν δουλείαν αἰρουμένοις συγγνώμην εἶχον. Ἐγούντο γὰρ ταῖς μὲν ταπειναῖς τῶν πόλεων  
 5 προσήκειν ἐκ παντὸς τρόπου ζητεῖν τὴν σωτηρίαν, ταῖς δὲ προεστάναι τῆς Ἑλλάδος ἀξιούσαις οὐχ οἶόν τ' εἶναι διαφεύγειν τοὺς κινδύνους, ἀλλ' ὥσπερ τῶν ἀνδρῶν τοῖς καλοῖς κάγαθοῖς αἰρετώτεροί ἐστι καλῶς ἀποθανεῖν ἢ ζῆν αἰσχροῦς, οὕτω καὶ τῶν πόλεων ταῖς  
 10 ὑπερεχούσαις λυσιτελεῖν ἐξ ἀνθρώπων ἀφανισθῆναι μᾶλλον ἢ δούλαις ὀφθῆναι γενομέναις.

Δῆλον δ' ὅτι ταῦτα διενοήθησαν· ἐπειδὴ γὰρ οὐχ οἰοί τ' ἦσαν πρὸς ἀμφοτέρας ἅμα παρατάξασθαι τὰς δυνάμεις, παραλαβόντες ἅπαντα τὸν ὄχλον τὸν ἐκ  
 15 τῆς πόλεως εἰς τὴν ἐχομένην νῆσον ἐξέπλευσαν, ἕν ἐν μέρει πρὸς ἑκατέραν κινδυνεύσωσιν.

Καίτοι πῶς ἂν ἐκείνων ἄνδρες ἀμείνους ἢ μᾶλλον φιλέλληνες ὄντες ἐπιδειχθεῖεν, οἵτινες ἐτόλμησαν ἐπιδεῖν, ὥστε μὴ τοῖς λοιποῖς αἴτιοι γενέσθαι τῆς δου-  
 20 λείας, ἐρήμην μὲν τὴν πόλιν γενομένην, τὴν δὲ χώραν πορθουμένην, ἱερὰ δὲ συλῶμενα καὶ νεῶς ἐμπιπραμένους, ἅπαντα δὲ τὸν πόλεμον περὶ τὴν πατρίδα τὴν αὐτῶν γιγνόμενον; Καὶ οὐδὲ ταῦτ' ἀπέχρησεν αὐτοῖς, ἀλλὰ πρὸς χιλίας καὶ διακοσίας τριήρεις μόνοι  
 25 διαναυμαχεῖν ἐμέλλησαν. Οὐ μὴν εἰάθησαν· κατασχυθέντες γὰρ Πελοποννήσιοι τὴν ἀρετὴν αὐτῶν, καὶ νομίσαντες προδιαφθαρέντων μὲν τῶν ἡμετέρων οὐδ'

αυτοὶ σωθήσεσθαι, κατορθωσάντων δ' εἰς ἀτιμίαν τὰς αὐτῶν πόλεις καταστήσειν, ἠναγκάσθησαν μετασχεῖν τῶν κινδύνων. Καὶ τοὺς μὲν θορύβους τοὺς ἐν τῷ πράγματι γενομένους καὶ τὰς κραυγὰς καὶ τὰς παρακελεύσεις, ἃ κοινὰ πάντων ἐστὶ τῶν ναυμαχούντων, οὐκ οἶδ' ὅ τι δεῖ λέγοντα διατρίβειν· ἃ δ' ἐστὶν ἴδια καὶ τῆς ἡγεμονίας ἄξια καὶ τοῖς προειρημένοις ὁμολογούμενα, ταῦτα δ' ἐμὸν ἔργον ἐστὶν εἰπεῖν.

Τοσοῦτον γὰρ ἡ πόλις ἡμῶν διέφερεν, ὅτ' ἦν ἀκέραιος, ὥστ' ἀνάστατος γενομένη πλείους μὲν συνεβάλετο τριήρεις εἰς τὸν κίνδυνον τὸν ὑπὲρ τῆς Ἑλλάδος ἢ σύμπαντες οἱ ναυμαχήσαντες, οὐδεὶς δὲ πρὸς ἡμᾶς οὕτως ἔχει δυσμενῶς, ὅστις οὐκ ἂν ὁμολογήσειε διὰ μὲν τὴν ναυμαχίαν ἡμᾶς τῷ πολέμῳ κρατῆσαι, ταύτης δὲ τὴν πόλιν αἰτίαν γενέσθαι. Καίτοι μελλούσης στρατείας ἐπὶ τοὺς βαρβάρους ἔσεσθαι τίνας χρὴ τὴν ἡγεμονίαν ἔχειν; Οὐ τοὺς ἐν τῷ προτέρῳ πολέμῳ μάλιστα εὐδοκίμησαντας, καὶ πολλάκις μὲν ἴδια προκινδυνεύσαντας, ἐν δὲ τοῖς κοινοῖς τῶν ἀγώνων ἀριστείων ἀξιοθέντας; Οὐ τοὺς τὴν αὐτῶν ἐκλιπόντας ὑπὲρ τῆς τῶν ἄλλων σωτηρίας, καὶ τό τε παλαιὸν οἰκιστὰς τῶν πλείστων πόλεων γενομένους, καὶ πάλιν αὐτὰς ἐκ τῶν μεγίστων συμφορῶν διασώσαντας; Πῶς δ' οὐκ ἂν δεινὰ πάθοιμεν, εἰ τῶν κακῶν πλείστον μέρος μετασχόντες ἐν ταῖς τιμαῖς ἔλαττον ἔχειν ἀξιοθεῖμεν, καὶ τότε προταχθέντες ὑπὲρ ἀπάντων νῦν ἐτέροις ἀκολουθεῖν ἀναγκασθεῖμεν;

Μέχρι μὲν οὖν τούτων οἶδ' ὅτι πάντες ἂν ὁμολογήσειαν πλείστων ἀγαθῶν τὴν πόλιν τὴν ἡμετέραν αἰτίαν γεγενῆσθαι, καὶ δικαίως ἂν αὐτῆς τὴν ἡγεμονίαν εἶναι· μετὰ δὲ ταῦτ' ἤδη τινὲς ἡμῶν κατηγοροῦσιν, ὡς, ἐπειδὴ τὴν ἀρχὴν τῆς θαλάττης παρελάβομεν, πολλῶν κακῶν αἴτιοι τοῖς Ἕλλησι κατέστημεν, καὶ τόν τε Μηλίων ἀνδραποδισμόν καὶ τὸν Σκιωναίων ὄλεθρον ἐν τούτοις τοῖς λόγοις ἡμῖν προφέρουσιν. Ἐγὼ δ' ἡγοῦμαι πρῶτον μὲν οὐδὲν εἶναι τοῦτο σημεῖον, ὡς κακῶς ἤρχομεν, εἴ τινες τῶν πολεμησάντων ἡμῖν σφόδρα φαίνονται κολασθέντες, ἀλλὰ πολὺ τόδε μείζον τεκμήριον, ὡς καλῶς διωκοῦμεν τὰ τῶν συμμάχων, ὅτι τῶν πόλεων τῶν ὑφ' ἡμῖν οὐσῶν οὐδεμία τοιαύταις συμφοραῖς περιέπεσεν. Ἐπειτ' εἰ μὲν ἄλλοι τινὲς τῶν αὐτῶν πραγμάτων πραότερον ἐπεμελήθησαν, εἰκότως ἂν ἡμῖν ἐπιτιμῶεν· εἰ δὲ μήτε τοῦτο γέγονε, μήθ' οἷόν τ' ἐστὶ τοσοῦτων πόλεων τὸ πλήθος κρατεῖν, ἢν μή τις κολάζῃ τοὺς ἑξαμαρτάνοντας, πῶς οὐκ ἤδη δίκαιόν ἐστίν ἡμᾶς ἐπαινεῖν, οἷτινες ἐλαχίστοις χαλεπήναντες πλείστον χρόνον τὴν ἀρχὴν κατασχεῖν ἠδυνήθημεν;

Οἶμαι δὲ πᾶσι δοκεῖν τούτους κρατίστους προστατάς γενήσεσθαι τῶν Ἑλλήνων, ἐφ' ὧν οἱ πειθαρχήσαντες ἄριστα τυγχάνουσι πράξαντες. Ἐπὶ τοίνυν τῆς ἡμετέρας ἡγεμονίας εὐρήσομεν καὶ τοὺς οἴκους τοὺς ἰδίους πρὸς εὐδαιμονίαν πλείστον ἐπιδόντας καὶ τὰς πόλεις μεγίστας γενομένας. Οὐ γὰρ ἐφθονοῦμεν

ταῖς αὐξανομέναις αὐτῶν, οὐδὲ ταραχὰς ἐνεποιούμεεν  
 πολιτείας ἐναντίας παρακαθιστάντες, ἕν' ἀλλήλοις μὲν  
 στασιάζουεν, ἡμᾶς δ' ἀμφότεροι θεραπεύουεν, ἀλλὰ τὴν  
 τῶν συμμάχων ὁμόνοιαν κοινὴν ὠφέλειαν νομίζοντες  
 τοῖς αὐτοῖς νόμοις ἀπάσας τὰς πόλεις διωκοῦμεν, 5  
 συμμαχικῶς, ἀλλ' οὐ δεσποτικῶς βουλευόμενοι περὶ  
 αὐτῶν, ὅλων μὲν τῶν πραγμάτων ἐπιστατοῦντες, ἰδίᾳ  
 δ' ἐκάστους ἐλευθέρους ἐῶντες εἶναι, καὶ τῷ μὲν  
 πλήθει βοηθοῦντες, ταῖς δὲ δυναστείαις πολεμοῦντες,  
 δεινὸν ἡγούμενοι τοὺς πολλοὺς ὑπὸ τοῖς ὀλίγοις εἶναι, 10  
 καὶ τοὺς ταῖς οὐσίαις ἐνδεεστέρους, τὰ δ' ἄλλα μη-  
 δὲν χείρους ὄντας ἀπελαύνεσθαι τῶν ἀρχῶν, ἔτι δὲ  
 κοινῆς τῆς πατρίδος οὐσης τοὺς μὲν τυραννεῖν, τοὺς  
 δὲ μετοικεῖν, καὶ φύσει πολίτας ὄντας νόμῳ τῆς πο-  
 λιτείας ἀποστερεῖσθαι. 15

Τοιαῦτ' ἔχοντες ταῖς ὀλιγαρχίαις ἐπιτίμῶν καὶ πλείω  
 τούτων, τὴν αὐτὴν πολιτείαν ἤνπερ παρ' ἡμῖν αὐ-  
 τοῖς καὶ παρὰ τοῖς ἄλλοις κατεστήσαμεν, ἣν οὐκ  
 οἶδ' ὅ τι δεῖ διὰ μακροτέρων ἐπαινεῖν, ἄλλως τε καὶ  
 συντόμως ἔχοντα δηλώσαι περὶ αὐτῆς. Μετὰ γὰρ 20  
 ταύτης οἰκοῦντες ἐβδομήκοντ' ἔτη διετελέσαμεν ἀπει-  
 ροὶ μὲν τυραννίδων, ἐλεύθεροι δὲ πρὸς τοὺς βαρβά-  
 ρους, ἀστασίαστοι δὲ πρὸς σφᾶς αὐτούς, εἰρήνην δ'  
 ἄγοντες πρὸς πάντας ἀνθρώπους. Ὅτι ἐπεὶ ὧν προσή-  
 κει τοὺς εὖ φρονοῦντας μεγάλην χάριν ἔχειν πολὺ 25  
 μᾶλλον ἢ τὰς κληρουχίας ἡμῖν ὀνειδίζειν, ἃς ἡμεῖς

εἰς τὰς ἐρημουμένας τῶν πόλεων φυλακῆς ἔνεκα τῶν χωρίων, ἀλλ' οὐ διὰ πλεονεξίαν ἐξεπέμπομεν.

Σημεῖον δὲ τούτων· ἔχοντες γὰρ χώραν μὲν ὡς πρὸς τὸ πλῆθος τῶν πολιτῶν ἐλαχίστην, ἀρχὴν δὲ  
 5 μεγίστην, καὶ κεκτημένοι τριήρεις διπλασίας μὲν ἢ σύμπαντες οἱ ἄλλοι, δυναμένας δὲ πρὸς δις τοσαύ-  
 τας κινδυνεύειν, ὑποκειμένης τῆς Εὐβοίας ὑπὸ τὴν Ἀττικὴν, ἣ καὶ πρὸς τὴν ἀρχὴν τὴν τῆς θαλάττης εὐφυῶς εἶχε καὶ τὴν ἄλλην ἀρετὴν ἀπασῶν τῶν νή-  
 10 σων διέφερε, κρατοῦντες αὐτῆς μᾶλλον ἢ τῆς ἡμετέ-  
 ρας αὐτῶν, καὶ πρὸς τούτοις εἰδότες καὶ τῶν Ἑλλή-  
 νων καὶ τῶν βαρβάρων τούτους μάλιστα εὐδοκιμοῦν-  
 τας, οἱ τοὺς ὁμόρους ἀναστάτους ποιήσαντες ἄφθονον  
 καὶ ῥάθυμον αὐτοῖς κατεστήσαντο τὸν βίον, ὅμως  
 15 οὐδὲν τούτων ἡμᾶς ἐπῆρε περὶ τοὺς ἔχοντας τὴν νῆ-  
 σον ἐξαμαρτεῖν, ἀλλὰ μόνοι δὴ τῶν μεγάλην δύναμιν  
 λαβόντων περιεῖδομεν ἡμᾶς αὐτοὺς ἀπορωτέρωσ ζῶν-  
 τας τῶν δουλεύειν αἰτίαν ἔχόντων. Καίτοι βουλό-  
 μενοι πλεονεκτεῖν οὐκ ἂν δήπου τῆς μὲν Σκιωναίων  
 20 γῆς ἐπεθυμήσαμεν, ἣν Πλαταιέων τοῖς ὡς ἡμᾶς κα-  
 ταφυγοῦσι φαινόμεθα παραδόντες, τοσαύτην δὲ χώραν  
 παρελίπομεν, ἣ πάντας ἂν ἡμᾶς εὐπορωτέρους ἐποί-  
 ησεν.

Τοιούτων τοίνυν ἡμῶν γεγενημένων, καὶ τοσαύτην  
 25 πίστιν δεδωκότων ὑπὲρ τοῦ μὴ τῶν ἀλλοτρίων ἐπι-  
 θυμῆν, τολμῶσι κατηγορεῖν οἱ τῶν δεκαδαρχιῶν κοι-  
 νωνήσαντες καὶ τὰς αὐτῶν πατρίδας διαλυμηνάμενα



καὶ μικρὰς μὲν ποιήσαντες δοκεῖν εἶναι τὰς τῶν  
 προγεγενημένων ἀδικίας, οὐδεμίαν δὲ λιπόντες ὑπερ-  
 βολὴν τοῖς αὐθις βουλομένοις γενέσθαι πονηροῖς, ἀλ-  
 λὰ φάσκοντες μὲν λακωνίζειν, τάναντία δ' ἐκείνοις  
 ἐπιτηδεύοντες, καὶ τὰς μὲν Μηλίων ὄδυρόμενοι συμ- 5  
 φοράς, περὶ δὲ τοὺς αὐτῶν πολίτας ἀνήκεστα τολ-  
 μήσαντες ἔξαμαρτεῖν. Ποῖον γὰρ αὐτοὺς ἀδίκημα  
 διέφυγεν; Ἡ τί τῶν αἰσχυρῶν καὶ δεινῶν οὐ διε-  
 ξήλθον; Οὐ τοὺς μὲν ἀνομωτάτους πιστοτάτους  
 ἐνόμιζον, τοὺς δὲ προδότας ὥσπερ εὐεργέτας ἐθερά- 10  
 πεινον, ἠροῦντο δὲ τῶν Εἰλώτων ἐνίοις δουλεύειν, ὥστ'  
 εἰς τὰς αὐτῶν πατρίδας ὑβρίζειν, μᾶλλον δ' ἐτίμων  
 τοὺς αὐτόχειρας καὶ φονέας τῶν πολιτῶν ἢ τοὺς γο-  
 νέας τοὺς αὐτῶν, εἰς τοῦτο δ' ὁμότητος ἅπαντας  
 ἡμᾶς κατέστησαν, ὥστε πρὸ τοῦ μὲν διὰ τὴν πα- 15  
 ροῦσαν εὐδαιμονίαν καὶ ταῖς μικραῖς ἀτυχίαις πολ-  
 λούς ἕκαστος ἡμῶν εἶχε τοὺς συμπαθήσοντας, ἐπὶ δὲ  
 τῆς τούτων ἀρχῆς διὰ τὸ πλῆθος τῶν οἰκείων κακῶν  
 ἐπαυσάμεθ' ἀλλήλους ἐλεοῦντες. Οὐδενὶ γὰρ τοσαύ-  
 την σχολὴν παρέλιπον, ὥστ' ἐτέρῳ συναχθεσθῆναι. 20  
 Τίνος γὰρ οὐκ ἐφίκοντο; Ἡ τίς οὕτω πόρρω τῶν  
 πολιτικῶν ἦν πραγμάτων, ὅστις οὐκ ἐγγὺς ἠναγκά-  
 σθη γενέσθαι τῶν συμφορῶν, εἰς ἃς αἰ τοιαῦται φύ-  
 σεις ἡμᾶς κατέστησαν;

Εἰτ' οὐκ αἰσχύνονται τὰς ἑαυτῶν πόλεις οὕτως ἀνό- 25  
 μως διαθέντες καὶ τῆς ἡμετέρας ἀδίκως κατηγοροῦν-  
 τες, ἀλλὰ πρὸς τοῖς ἄλλοις καὶ περὶ τῶν δικῶν καὶ



τῶν γραφῶν τῶν ποτε παρ' ἡμῖν γενομένων λέγειν  
 τολμῶσιν, αὐτοὶ πλείους ἐν τρισὶ μῆσιν ἀκρίτους  
 ἀποκτείναντες ὧν ἡ πόλις ἐπὶ τῆς ἀρχῆς ἀπάσης  
 ἔκρινεν. Φυγὰς δὲ καὶ στάσεις καὶ νόμων συγχύ-  
 5 σεις καὶ πολιτειῶν μεταβολὰς, ἔτι δὲ παίδων ὕβρεις  
 καὶ γυναικῶν αἰσχύναις καὶ χρημάτων ἀρπαγὰς, τίς  
 ἂν δύναίτο διεξελθεῖν; Πλὴν τοσοῦτον εἰπεῖν ἔχω  
 καθ' ἀπάντων, ὅτι τὰ μὲν ἐφ' ἡμῶν δεινὰ ῥαδίως ἂν  
 τις ἐνὶ ψηφίσματι διέλυσε, τὰς δὲ σφαγὰς καὶ τὰς  
 10 ἀνομίας τὰς ἐπὶ τούτων γενομένας οὐδεὶς ἂν ἰάσα-  
 σθαι δύναίτο.

Καὶ μὴν οὐδὲ τὴν παρούσαν εἰρήνην, οὐδὲ τὴν  
 αὐτονομίαν τὴν ἐν ταῖς πολιτείαις μὲν οὐκ ἐνούσαν,  
 ἐν δὲ ταῖς συνθήκαις ἀναγεγραμμένην, ἄξιον ἐλέσθαι  
 15 μᾶλλον ἢ τὴν ἀρχὴν τὴν ἡμετέραν. Τίς γὰρ ἂν  
 τοιαύτης καταστάσεως ἐπιθυμήσειεν, ἐν ᾗ καταπον-  
 τισταὶ μὲν τὴν θάλατταν κατέχουσι, πελτασταὶ δὲ  
 τὰς πόλεις καταλαμβάνουσιν, ἀντὶ δὲ τοῦ πρὸς ἐτέ-  
 ρους περὶ τῆς χώρας πολεμεῖν ἐντὸς τείχους οἱ πο-  
 20 λῖται πρὸς ἀλλήλους μάχονται, πλείους δὲ πόλεις  
 αἰχμάλωτοι γεγόνασιν ἢ πρὶν τὴν εἰρήνην ἡμᾶς ποι-  
 ῆσασθαι, διὰ δὲ τὴν πυκνότητα τῶν μεταβολῶν ἀθυ-  
 μοτέρως διάγουσιν οἱ τὰς πόλεις οἰκοῦντες τῶν ταῖς  
 φυγαῖς ἐξημιωμένων· οἱ μὲν γὰρ τὸ μέλλον δεδία-  
 25 σιν, οἱ δ' αἰεὶ κατιέναι προσδοκῶσιν. Τοσοῦτον δ'  
 ἀπέχουσι τῆς ἐλευθερίας καὶ τῆς αὐτονομίας, ὥσθ'  
 αἱ μὲν ὑπὸ τυράννοις εἰσὶ, τὰς δ' ἀρμοσταὶ κατέχου-

σιν, ἔνιαι δ' ἀνάστατοι γεγόνασι, τῶν δ' οἱ βάρβαροι δεσπόται καθεστήκασιν· οὐς ἡμεῖς διαβῆναι τολμήσαντας εἰς τὴν Εὐρώπην καὶ μείζον ἢ προσήκεν αὐτοῖς φρονήσαντας οὕτω διέθεμεν, ὥστε μὴ μόνον παύσασθαι στρατείας ἐφ' ἡμᾶς ποιουμένους, ἀλλὰ 5 καὶ τὴν αὐτῶν χῶραν ἀνέχεσθαι πορθουμένην, καὶ διακοσίαις καὶ χιλίαις ναυσὶ περιπλέοντας εἰς τοσαύτην ταπεινότητα κατεστήσαμεν, ὥστε μακρὸν πλοῖον ἐπὶ τάδε Φασήλιδος μὴ καθέλκειν, ἀλλ' ἡσυχίαν ἄγειν καὶ τοὺς καιροὺς περιμένειν, ἀλλὰ μὴ τῇ παρούσῃ 10 δυνάμει πιστεύειν.

Καὶ ταῦθ' ὅτι διὰ τὴν τῶν προγόνων τῶν ἡμετέρων ἀρετὴν οὕτως εἶχεν, αἰ τῆς πόλεως συμφοραὶ σαφῶς ἐπέδειξαν· ἅμα γὰρ ἡμεῖς τε τῆς ἀρχῆς ἀπεστερούμεθα καὶ τοῖς Ἑλλησιν ἀρχὴ τῶν κακῶν ἐγί- 15 γνητο. Μετὰ γὰρ τὴν ἐν Ἑλλησπόντῳ γενομένην ἀτυχίαν ἐτέρων ἡγεμόνων καταστάτων ἐνίκησαν μὲν οἱ βάρβαροι ναυμαχοῦντες, ἦρξαν δὲ τῆς θαλάττης, κατέσχον δὲ τὰς πλείστας τῶν νήσων, ἀπέβησαν δ' εἰς τὴν Λακωνικὴν, Κύθηρα δὲ κατὰ κράτος εἶλον, 20 ἅπασαν δὲ τὴν Πελοπόννησον κακῶς ποιοῦντες περιέπλευσαν.

Μάλιστα δ' ἂν τις συνίδοι τὸ μέγεθος τῆς μεταβολῆς, εἰ παραναγνοίῃ τὰς συνθήκας τὰς τ' ἐφ' ἡμῶν γενομένας καὶ τὰς νῦν ἀναγεγραμμένας. Τότε 25 μὲν γὰρ ἡμεῖς φανησόμεθα τὴν ἀρχὴν τὴν βασιλέως ὀρίζοντες καὶ τῶν φόρων ἐνίους τάττοντες καὶ

κωλύοντες αὐτὸν τῇ θαλάττῃ χρῆσθαι· νῦν δ' ἐκεί-  
 νός ἐστιν ὁ διοικῶν τὰ τῶν Ἑλλήνων, καὶ προστάτ-  
 των ἅ χρῆ ποιεῖν ἐκάστους, καὶ μόνον οὐκ ἐπιστά-  
 θμους ἐν ταῖς πόλεσι καθιστάς. Πλὴν γὰρ τούτου  
 5 τί τῶν ἄλλων ὑπόλοιπόν ἐστιν; Οὐ καὶ τοῦ πο-  
 λέμου κύριος ἐγένετο, καὶ τὴν εἰρήνην ἐπρυτάνευσε,  
 καὶ τῶν παρόντων πραγμάτων ἐπιστάτης καθέστηκεν;  
 Οὐχ ὡς ἐκείνον πλέομεν ὥσπερ πρὸς δεσπότην,  
 ἀλλήλων κατηγορήσונτες; Οὐ βασιλέα τὸν μέγαν  
 10 αὐτὸν προσαγορεύομεν, ὥσπερ αἰχμάλωτοι γεγονότες;  
 Οὐκ ἐν τοῖς πολέμοις τοῖς πρὸς ἀλλήλους ἐν ἐκεί-  
 νῳ τὰς ἐλπίδας ἔχομεν τῆς σωτηρίας, ὅς ἀμφοτέρους  
 ἡμᾶς ἠδέως ἂν ἀπολέσειεν;

Ἐν ἄξιον ἐνθυμηθέντας ἀγανακτῆσαι μὲν ἐπὶ τοῖς  
 15 παροῦσι, ποθέσαι δὲ τὴν ἡγεμονίαν τὴν ἡμετέραν,  
 μέμψασθαι δὲ Λακεδαιμονίοις, ὅτι τὴν μὲν ἀρχὴν εἰς  
 τὸν πόλεμον κατέστησαν ὡς ἐλευθερώσαντες τοὺς Ἑλ-  
 ληνας, ἐπὶ δὲ τελευτῆς οὕτω πολλοὺς αὐτῶν ἐκδό-  
 τούς ἐποίησαν, καὶ τῆς μὲν ἡμετέρας πόλεως τοὺς  
 20 Ἴωνας ἀπέστησαν, ἐξ ἧς ἀπέκθησαν καὶ δι' ἣν πολ-  
 λάκις ἐσώθησαν, τοῖς δὲ βαρβάροις αὐτοὺς ἐξέδωσαν,  
 ὧν ἀκόντων τὴν χώραν ἔχουσι καὶ πρὸς οὓς οὐδὲ  
 πώποτ' ἐπαύσαντο πολεμοῦντες.

Καὶ τότε μὲν ἡγανάκτουν, ὅθ' ἡμεῖς νομίμως  
 25 ἐπάρχειν τινῶν ἡξιούμεν· νῦν δ' εἰς τοιαύτην δου-  
 λείαν καθεστώτων οὐδὲν φροντίζουσιν αὐτῶν, οἷς οὐκ  
 ἐξαρκεῖ δασμολογεῖσθαι καὶ τὰς ἀκροπόλεις ὀράν ὑπὸ

τῶν ἐχθρῶν κατεχομένας, ἀλλὰ πρὸς ταῖς κοιναῖς  
 συμφοραῖς καὶ τοῖς σώμασι δεινότερα πάσχουσι τῶν  
 παρ' ἡμῖν ἀργυρωνήτων· οὐδεὶς γὰρ ἡμῶν οὕτως  
 αἰκίζεται τοὺς οἰκέτας, ὡς ἐκείνοι τοὺς ἐλευθέρους  
 κολάζουσιν. Μέγιστον δὲ τῶν κακῶν, ὅταν ὑπὲρ 5  
 αὐτῆς τῆς δουλείας ἀναγκάζονται συστρατεύεσθαι, καὶ  
 πολεμεῖν τοῖς ἐλευθεροῦν ἀξιούσι, καὶ τοιούτους κιν-  
 δύνους ὑπομένειν, ἐν οἷς ἠττηθέντες μὲν παραχρῆμα  
 διαφθαρήσονται, κατορθώσαντες δὲ μᾶλλον εἰς τὸν  
 λοιπὸν χρόνον δουλεύουσιν. 10

Ὡν τίνας ἄλλους αἰτίους χρῆ νομίζειν ἢ Λακε-  
 δαιμονίους, οἳ τοσαύτην ἰσχὺν ἔχοντες περιορῶσι τοὺς  
 μὲν αὐτῶν συμμάχους γενομένους οὕτω δεινὰ πά-  
 σχοντας, τὸν δὲ βάρβαρον τῇ τῶν Ἑλλήνων ῥώμῃ  
 τὴν ἀρχὴν τὴν αὐτοῦ κατασκευαζόμενον; Καὶ πρό- 15  
 τερον μὲν τοὺς τυράννους ἐξέβαλλον, τῷ δὲ πλήθει  
 τὰς βοηθείας ἐποιούντο, νῦν δὲ τοσοῦτον μεταβεβλή-  
 κασιν, ὥστε ταῖς μὲν πολιτείαις πολεμοῦσι, τὰς δὲ  
 μοναρχίας συγκαθιστᾶσι. Τὴν μὲν γε Μαντινέων  
 πόλιν εἰρήνης ἤδη γεγενημένης ἀνάστατον ἐποίησαν, 20  
 καὶ τὴν Θηβαίων Καδμείαν κατέλαβον, καὶ νῦν  
 Ὀλυνθίους καὶ Φλιασίους πολιορκοῦσιν, Ἀμύντα δὲ  
 τῷ Μακεδόνων βασιλεῖ καὶ Διονυσίῳ τῷ Σικελίας τυ-  
 ράννῳ καὶ τῷ βαρβάρῳ τῷ τῆς Ἀσίας κρατοῦντι συμ-  
 πράττουσιν, ὅπως ὡς μεγίστην ἀρχὴν ἔξουσιν. Καί- 25  
 τοι πῶς οὐκ ἄτοπον τοὺς προεστῶτας τῶν Ἑλλήνων  
 ἓνα μὲν ἄνδρα τοσοῦτων ἀνθρώπων καθιστάναι δε-

σπότην, ὧν οὐδὲ τὸν ἀριθμὸν ἐξευρεῖν ῥάδιόν ἐστι, τὰς δὲ μεγίστας τῶν πόλεων μηδ' αὐτὰς αὐτῶν εἶναι κυρίας, ἀλλ' ἀναγκάζειν δουλεύειν ἢ ταῖς μεγίσταις συμφοραῖς περιβάλλειν. Ὁ δὲ πάντων δεινό-  
 5 τατον, ὅταν τις ἴδῃ τοὺς τὴν ἡγεμονίαν ἔχειν ἀξιούοντας ἐπὶ μὲν τοὺς Ἕλληνας καθ' ἑκάστην ἡμέραν στρατευομένους, πρὸς δὲ τοὺς βαρβάρους εἰς ἅπαντα τὸν χρόνον συμμαχίαν πεποιημένους.

Καὶ μηδεὶς ὑπολάβῃ με δυσκόλως ἔχειν, ὅτι τρα-  
 10 χύτερον τούτων ἐμνήσθην, προειπὼν ὡς περὶ διαλλαγῶν ποιήσομαι τοὺς λόγους· οὐ γὰρ ἵνα πρὸς τοὺς ἄλλους διαβάλω τὴν πόλιν τὴν Λακεδαιμονίων, οὕτως εἴρηκα περὶ αὐτῶν, ἀλλ' ἵνα αὐτοὺς ἐκείνους παύσω, καθ' ὅσον ὁ λόγος δύναται, τοιαύτην ἔχον-  
 15 τας τὴν γνώμην. Ἔστι δὲ οὐχ οἷόν τ' ἀποτρέπειν τῶν ἀμαρτημάτων, οὐδ' ἐτέρων πράξεων πείθειν ἐπιθυμῆν, ἢν μή τις ἐρρώμένως ἐπιτιμῆσθαι τοῖς παροῦσιν· χρὴ δὲ κατηγορεῖν μὲν ἡγέισθαι τοὺς ἐπὶ βλάβῃ τοιαῦτα λέγοντας, νουθετεῖν δὲ τοὺς ἐπ' ὠφελείᾳ  
 20 λαιδοροῦντας. Τὸν γὰρ αὐτὸν λόγον οὐχ ὁμοίως ὑπολαμβάνειν δεῖ, μὴ μετὰ τῆς αὐτῆς διανοίας λεγόμενον. Ἐπεὶ καὶ τοῦτ' ἔχομεν αὐτοῖς ἐπιτιμᾶν, ὅτι τῇ μὲν αὐτῶν πόλει τοὺς ὁμόρους εἰλωτεύειν ἀναγκάζουσι, τῷ δὲ κοινῷ τῷ τῶν συμμάχων οὐδὲν τοιοῦ-  
 25 τον κατασκευάζουσιν, ἐξὸν αὐτοῖς τὰ πρὸς ἡμᾶς διαλυσασμένοις ἅπαντας τοὺς βαρβάρους περιοίκους ὅλης τῆς Ἑλλάδος καταστήσαι.

Καίτοι χρὴ τοὺς φύσει καὶ μὴ διὰ τύχην μέγα φρονούντας τοιούτοις ἔργοις ἐπιχειρεῖν πολὺ μᾶλλον ἢ τοὺς νησιώτας δασμολογεῖν, οὓς ἄξιόν ἐστιν ἐλεεῖν, ὀρώντας τούτους μὲν διὰ σπανιότητα τῆς γῆς ὄρη γεωργεῖν ἀναγκαζομένους, τοὺς δ' ἠπειρώτας δι' ἀφθο- 5 νίαν τῆς χώρας τὴν μὲν πλείστην αὐτῆς ἀργὸν περιωρώντας, ἐξ ἧς δὲ καρποῦνται τοσοῦτον πλοῦτου κεκτημένους.

Ἐγούμαι δ', εἴ τινες ἄλλοθεν ποθεν ἐπελθοντες θεαταὶ γένοιτο τῶν παρόντων πραγμάτων, πολλὴν ἂν αὐτοὺς καταγνώnai μανίαν ἀμφοτέρων ἡμῶν, οἷτινες οὕτω περὶ μικρῶν κινδυνεύομεν, ἐξὸν ἀδεῶς πολλὰ κεκτῆσθαι, καὶ τὴν ἡμετέραν αὐτῶν χώραν διαφθείρομεν, ἀμελήσαντες τὴν Ἀσίαν καρποῦσθαι. Καὶ τῷ μὲν οὐδὲν προὔργαιότερόν ἐστιν ἢ σκοπεῖν ἐξ ὧν μη- 15 δέποτε παυσόμεθα πρὸς ἀλλήλους πολεμοῦντες· ἡμεῖς δὲ τοσοῦτον δέομεν συγκρούειν τι τῶν ἐκείνου πραγμάτων ἢ ποιεῖν στασιάζειν, ὥστε καὶ τὰς διὰ τύχην αὐτῷ γεγενημένας ταραχὰς συνδιαλύειν ἐπιχειροῦμεν, οἷτινες καὶ τοῖν στρατοπέδοις τοῖν περὶ Κύπρον ἐῶ- 20 μεν αὐτὸν τῷ μὲν χρῆσθαι, τὸ δὲ πολιορκεῖν, ἀμφοτέροις αὐτοῖν τῆς Ἑλλάδος ὄντοι. Οἷ τε γὰρ ἀφεστῶτες πρὸς ἡμᾶς τε οἰκείως ἔχουσι καὶ Λακεδαιμονίοις σφᾶς αὐτοὺς ἐνδιδῶσιν, τῶν τε μετὰ Τιριβάζου στρατευομένων καὶ τοῦ πεζοῦ τὸ χρησι- 25 μώτατον ἐκ τῶνδε τῶν τόπων ἤθροισται, καὶ τοῦ ναυτικοῦ τὸ πλείστον ἀπ' Ἰωνίας συμπέπλευκεν, οἷ



πολὺ ἂν ἤδιον κοινῇ τὴν Ἀσίαν ἐπόρθουν ἢ πρὸς ἀλλήλους ἕνεκα μικρῶν ἐκινδύνεον.

Ἐν ἡμεῖς οὐδεμίαν ποιούμεθα πρόνοιαν, ἀλλὰ περὶ μὲν τῶν Κυκλάδων νήσων ἀμφισβητοῦμεν, τοσαύτας  
 5 δὲ τὸ πλῆθος πόλεις καὶ τηλικαύτας τὸ μέγεθος  
 δυνάμεις οὕτως εἰκῆ τῷ βαρβάρῳ παραδεδώκαμεν.  
 Τοιγαροῦν τὰ μὲν ἔχει, τὰ δὲ μέλλει, τοῖς δ' ἐπι-  
 βουλεύει, δικαίως ἀπάντων ἡμῶν καταπεφρονηκώς.  
 Διαπέπρακται γὰρ ὁ τῶν ἐκείνου προγόνων οὐδεὶς  
 10 πώποτε· τὴν τε γὰρ Ἀσίαν διωμολόγηται καὶ παρ'  
 ἡμῶν καὶ παρὰ Λακεδαιμονίων βασιλέως εἶναι, τὰς  
 τε πόλεις τὰς Ἑλληνίδας οὕτω κυρίως παρείληφεν,  
 ὥστε τὰς μὲν αὐτῶν κατασκάπτειν, ἐν δὲ ταῖς ἀκρο-  
 πόλεις ἐντειχίζειν. Καὶ ταῦτα πάντα γέγονε διὰ τὴν  
 15 ἡμετέραν ἄνοιαν, ἀλλ' οὐ διὰ τὴν ἐκείνου δύναμιν.

Καίτοι τινὲς θαυμάζουσι τὸ μέγεθος τῶν βασιλέως  
 πραγμάτων, καὶ φασιν αὐτὸν εἶναι δυσπολέμητον, διεξ-  
 ιόντες, ὡς πολλὰς τὰς μεταβολὰς τοῖς Ἑλλησι πε-  
 ποίηται. Ἐγὼ δ' ἠγοῦμαι μὲν τοὺς ταῦτα λέγοντας  
 20 οὐκ ἀποτρέπειν, ἀλλ' ἐπισπεύδειν τὴν στρατείαν· εἰ  
 γὰρ ἡμῶν ὁμονοησάντων αὐτὸς ἐν ταραχαῖς ὧν χα-  
 λεπὸς ἔσται προσπολεμεῖν, ἢ που σφόδρα χρὴ δειδέ-  
 ναι τὸν καιρὸν ἐκείνου, ὅταν τὰ μὲν τῶν βαρβάρων  
 καταστῆ καὶ διὰ μιᾶς γένηται γνώμη, ἡμεῖς δὲ πρὸς  
 25 ἀλλήλους ὥσπερ νῦν πολεμικῶς ἔχωμεν.

Οὐ μὴν οὐδ' εἰ συναγορεύουσι τοῖς ὑπ' ἐμοῦ λε-  
 γομένοις, οὐδ' ὡς ὀρθῶς περὶ τῆς ἐκείνου δυνάμεως



γιγνώσκουσιν. Εἰ μὲν γὰρ ἀπέφαινον αὐτὸν ἅμα  
 τοῖν πολέοιιν ἀμφοτέροιν πρότερόν ποτε περιγεγενη-  
 μένον, εἰκότως ἂν ἡμᾶς καὶ νῦν ἐκφοβείν ἐπεχείρουν·  
 εἰ δὲ τοῦτο μὲν μὴ γέγονεν, ἀντιπάλων δ' ὄντων  
 ἡμῶν καὶ Λακεδαιμονίων προσθέμενος τοῖς ἑτέροις 5  
 ἐπικυδέστερα τὰ πράγματα θάτερ' ἐποίησεν, οὐδὲν  
 ἔστι τοῦτο σημεῖον τῆς ἐκείνου ρώμης. Ἐν γὰρ τοῖς  
 ποιούτοις καιροῖς πολλάκις μικραὶ δυνάμεις μεγάλας  
 τὰς ροπὰς ἐποίησαν, ἐπεὶ καὶ περὶ Χίων ἔχοιμ' ἂν  
 τοῦτον τὸν λόγον εἰπεῖν, ὡς ὁποτέροις ἐκείνοι προσ- 10  
 θέσθαι βουληθείεν, οὗτοι κατὰ θάλατταν κρείττους  
 ἦσαν. Ἀλλὰ γὰρ οὐκ ἐκ τούτων δίκαιόν ἐστι σκο-  
 πεῖν τὴν βασιλέως δύναμιν, ἐξ ὧν μεθ' ἑκατέρων  
 γέγονεν, ἀλλ' ἐξ ὧν αὐτὸς ὑπὲρ αὐτοῦ πεπολέμηκεν.  
 Καὶ πρῶτον μὲν ἀποστάσης Αἰγύπτου τί διαπέπρα- 15  
 κται πρὸς τοὺς ἔχοντας αὐτήν; Οὐκ ἐκείνος μὲν ἐπὶ  
 τὸν πόλεμον τοῦτον κατέπεμψε τοὺς εὐδοκιμωτάτους  
 Περσῶν, Ἀβροκόμαν καὶ Τιθραύστην καὶ Φαρνάβα-  
 ζον, οὗτοι δὲ τρί' ἔτη μείναντες, καὶ πλείω κακὰ  
 παθόντες ἢ ποιήσαντες, τελευτῶντες οὕτως αἰσχροῶς 20  
 ἀπηλλάγησαν, ὥστε τοὺς ἀφεστῶτας μηκέτι τὴν ἐλευ-  
 θερίαν ἀγαπᾶν, ἀλλ' ἤδη καὶ τῶν ὁμόρων ζητεῖν  
 ἐπάρχειν;

Μετὰ δὲ ταῦτ' ἐπ' Εὐαγόραν στρατεύσας, ὃς ἄρ-  
 χει μὲν μιᾶς πόλεως, ἐν δὲ ταῖς συνθήκαις ἑκδοτός 25  
 ἔστιν, οἰκῶν δὲ νῆσον κατὰ μὲν θάλατταν προδεδυσ-  
 τύχηκεν, ὑπὲρ δὲ τῆς χώρας τρισχιλίους ἔχει μόνου

πέλταστάς, ἀλλ' ὅμως οὕτω ταπεινῆς δυνάμεως οὐ δύναται περιγενέσθαι βασιλεὺς πολεμῶν, ἀλλ' ἤδη μὲν ἕξ ἔτη διατέτριφεν, εἰ δὲ δεῖ τὰ μέλλοντα τοῖς γεγενημένοις τεκμαίρεσθαι, πολὺ πλείων ἐλπίς ἐστίν  
 5 ἕτερον ἀποστῆναι, πρὶν ἐκείνον ἐκπολιορκηθῆναι· τοιαῦται βραδυτῆτες ἐν ταῖς πράξεσι ταῖς βασιλέως ἐνεισιν.

Ἐν δὲ τῷ πολέμῳ τῷ περὶ Ῥόδον ἔχων μὲν τοὺς Λακεδαιμονίων συμμάχους εὖνους διὰ τὴν χαλεπότητά  
 10 τῶν πολιτειῶν, χρώμενος δὲ ταῖς ὑπηρεσίαις ταῖς παρ' ἡμῶν, στρατηγούντος δ' αὐτῷ Κόνωνος, ὃς ἦν ἐπιμελέστατος μὲν τῶν στρατηγῶν, πιστότατος δὲ τοῖς Ἑλλησιν, ἐμπειρότατος δὲ τῶν πρὸς τὸν πόλεμον κινδύνων, τοιοῦτον λαβὼν συναγωνιστὴν τρία μὲν  
 15 ἔτη περιεΐδε τὸ ναυτικὸν τὸ προκινδυνεῦον ὑπὲρ τῆς Ἀσίας ὑπὸ τριήρων ἑκατὸν μόνων πολιορκούμενον, πεντεκαίδεκα δὲ μηνῶν τοὺς στρατιώτας τὸν μισθὸν ἀπεστέρησεν, ὥστε τὸ μὲν ἐπ' ἐκείνῳ πολλάκις ἂν διελύθησαν, διὰ δὲ τὸν ἐφεστῶτα κίνδυνον καὶ τὴν  
 20 συμμαχίαν τὴν περὶ Κόρινθον συστᾶσαν μόλις ποτὲ ναυμαχοῦντες ἐνίκησαν.

Καὶ ταῦτ' ἐστὶ τὰ βασιλικώτατα καὶ σεμνότατα τῶν ἐκείνῳ πεπραγμένων, καὶ περὶ ὧν οὐδέποτε παύονται λέγοντες οἱ βουλόμενοι τὰ τῶν βαρβάρων με-  
 25 γάλα ποιεῖν. Ὡστ' οὐδεὶς ἂν ἔχοι τοῦτ' εἰπεῖν, ὡς οὐ δικαίως χρώμαι τοῖς παραδείγμασιν, οὐδ' ὡς ἐπὶ μικροῖς διατρίβω, τὰς μεγίστας τῶν πράξεων παραλεί-

πων· φεύγων γὰρ ταύτην τὴν αἰτίαν τὰ κάλλιστα τῶν ἔργων διήλθον, οὐκ ἀμνημονῶν οὐδ' ἐκείνων, ὅτι Δερκυλίδας μὲν χιλίους ἔχων ὀπλίτας τῆς Αἰολίδος ἐπήρχε, Δράκων δὲ Ἄταρνεά καταλαβὼν καὶ τρισχιλίους πελταστὰς συλλέξας τὸ Μύσιον πεδίου ἀνάστατον ἐποίησε, Θίβρων δὲ ὀλίγῳ πλείους τούτων διαβιβάσας τὴν Λυδίαν ἅπασαν ἐπόρθησεν, Ἀγησίλαος δὲ τῷ Κύρου στρατεύματι χρώμενος μικροῦ δεῖν τῆς ἐντὸς Ἄλλυος χώρας ἐκράτησεν.

Καὶ μὴν οὐδὲ τὴν στρατιὰν τὴν μετὰ βασιλέως περιπολοῦσαν, οὐδὲ τὴν Περσῶν ἀνδρίαν ἄξιον φοβηθῆναι· καὶ γὰρ ἐκεῖνοι φανερώς ἐπεδείχθησαν ὑπὸ τῶν Κύρῳ συναναβάντων οὐδὲν βελτίους ὄντες τῶν ἐπὶ θαλάττῃ. Τὰς μὲν γὰρ ἄλλας μάχας ὅσας ἠττήθησαν ἕω, καὶ τίθημι στασιάζειν αὐτοὺς καὶ μὴ βούλεσθαι προθύμως πρὸς τὸν ἀδελφὸν τὸν βασιλέως διακινδυνεύειν. Ἄλλ' ἐπειδὴ Κύρου τελευτήσαντος συνῆλθον ἅπαντες οἱ τὴν Ἀσίαν κατοικοῦντες, ἐν τούτοις τοῖς καιροῖς οὕτως αἰσχυρῶς ἐπολέμησαν, ὥστε μηδένα λόγον ὑπολιπεῖν τοῖς εἰθισμένοις τὴν Περσῶν ἀνδρίαν ἐπαιεῖν. Λαβόντες γὰρ ἑξακισχιλίους τῶν Ἑλλήνων οὐκ ἀριστίνδην ἐπειλεγμένους, ἀλλ' οἱ διὰ φαυλότητα ἐν ταῖς αὐτῶν οὐχ οἰοί τ' ἦσαν ζῆν, ἀπείρους μὲν τῆς χώρας ὄντας, ἐρήμους δὲ συμμάχων γεγεννημένους, προδοδομένους δ' ὑπὸ τῶν συναναβάντων, ἀπεστερημένους δὲ τοῦ στρατηγοῦ μεθ' οὗ συνηκολούθησαν, τοσοῦτον αὐτῶν ἠττους ἦσαν, ὥσθ' ὁ βα-

σιλεύς ἀπορήσας τοῖς παροῦσι πράγμασι καὶ καταφρονήσας τῆς περὶ αὐτὸν δυνάμεως τοὺς ἄρχοντας τοὺς τῶν ἐπικούρων ὑποσπόνδους συλλαβεῖν ἐτόλμησεν, ὡς εἰ τοῦτο παρανομήσειε συνταράξων τὸ στρατόπεδον, καὶ μᾶλλον εἴλετο περὶ τοὺς θεοὺς ἑξαμαρτεῖν ἢ πρὸς ἐκείνους ἐκ τοῦ φανεροῦ διαγωνίσασθαι. Διαμαρτῶν δὲ τῆς ἐπιβουλῆς, καὶ τῶν στρατιωτῶν συμμεινάντων καὶ καλῶς ἐνεγκόντων τὴν συμφορὰν, ἀπιούσιν αὐτοῖς Τισσαφέρην καὶ τοὺς ἰππέας συνέ-  
 10 πεμφεν, ὑφ' ὧν ἐκείνοι παρὰ πᾶσαν ἐπιβουλεύομενοι τὴν ὁδὸν ὁμοίως διεπορεύθησαν ὡσπερανεὶ προπεμπόμενοι, μάλιστα μὲν φοβούμενοι τὴν ἀοίκητὸν τῆς χώρας, μέγιστον δὲ τῶν ἀγαθῶν νομίζοντες, εἰ τῶν πολεμίων ὡς πλείστοις ἐντύχοιεν.

15 Κεφάλαιον δὲ τῶν εἰρημένων· ἐκείνοι γὰρ οὐκ ἐπὶ λείαν ἐλθόντες οὐδὲ κώμην καταλαβόντες, ἀλλ' ἐπ' αὐτὸν τὸν βασιλέα στρατεύσαντες ἀσφαλέστερον κατέβησαν τῶν περὶ φιλίας ὡς αὐτὸν πρεσβευόντων. Ὡστε μοι δοκοῦσιν ἐν ἅπασι τοῖς τόποις σαφῶς ἐπι-  
 20 δεδεῖχθαι τὴν αὐτῶν μαλακίαν· καὶ γὰρ ἐν τῇ παραλίᾳ τῆς Ἀσίας πολλὰς μάχας ἤττηνται, καὶ διαβάντες εἰς τὴν Εὐρώπην δίκην ἔδοσαν (οἱ μὲν γὰρ αὐτῶν κακῶς ἀπώλοντο, οἱ δ' αἰσχρῶς ἐσώθησαν), καὶ τελευτώντες ὑπ' αὐτοῖς τοῖς βασιλεῖσι καταγελα-  
 25 στοι γεγόνασιν.

Καὶ τούτων οὐδὲν ἀλόγως γέγονεν, ἀλλὰ πάντ' εἰ κότως ἀποβέβηκεν· οὐ γὰρ οἶόν τε τοὺς οὕτω τρε-

φομένους καὶ πολιτευομένους οὔτε τῆς ἄλλης ἀρετῆς μετέχειν οὔτ' ἐν ταῖς μάχαις τρόπαιον ἰστάναι τῶν πολεμίων. Πῶς γὰρ ἐν τοῖς ἐκείνων ἐπιτηδεύμασιν ἐγγενέσθαι δύναιτ' ἂν ἢ στρατηγὸς δεινὸς ἢ στρατιώ- 5 τῆς ἀγαθός, ὧν τὸ μὲν πλείστον ἐστὶν ὄχλος ἄτακτος καὶ κινδύνων ἄπειρος, πρὸς μὲν τὸν πόλεμον ἐκλελυμένος, πρὸς δὲ τὴν δουλείαν ἄμεινον τῶν παρ' ἡμῖν οἰκετῶν πεπαιδευμένος, οἱ δ' ἐν ταῖς μεγίσταις δόξαις ὄντες αὐτῶν ὁμαλῶς μὲν οὐδὲ κοινῶς οὐδὲ πολιτικῶς οὐδεπώποτ' ἐβίωσαν, ἅπαντα δὲ τὸν χρόνον 10 διάγουσιν εἰς μὲν τοὺς ὑβρίζοντες, τοῖς δὲ δουλεύοντες, ὡς ἂν ἄνθρωποι μάλιστα τὰς φύσεις διαφθαρεῖν, καὶ τὰ μὲν σώματα διὰ τοὺς πλοῦτους τρυφῶντες, τὰς δὲ ψυχὰς διὰ τὰς μοναρχίας ταπεινὰς καὶ περιδεεῖς ἔχοντες ἐξεταζόμενοι πρὸς αὐτοῖς τοῖς βασιλείοις 15 καὶ προκαλινδούμενοι καὶ πάντα τρόπον μικρὸν φρονεῖν μελετῶντες, θνητὸν μὲν ἄνδρα προσκυνοῦντες καὶ δαίμονα προσαγορεύοντες, τῶν δὲ θεῶν μᾶλλον ἢ τῶν ἀνθρώπων ὀλιγωροῦντες.

Τοιγαροῦν οἱ καταβαίνοντες αὐτῶν ἐπὶ θάλατταν, 20 οὓς καλοῦσι σατράπας, οὐ καταισχύνουσι τὴν ἐκεῖ παιδείου, ἀλλ' ἐν τοῖς ἡθεσι τοῖς αὐτοῖς διαμένουσι, πρὸς μὲν τοὺς φίλους ἀπίστως, πρὸς δὲ τοὺς ἐχθροὺς ἀνάνδρως ἔχοντες, καὶ τὰ μὲν ταπεινῶς, τὰ δ' ὑπερηφάνως ζῶντες, τῶν μὲν συμμάχων καταφρονοῦντες, 25 τοὺς δὲ πολεμίους θεραπεύοντες. Τὴν μὲν γε μετ' Ἀγησιλάου στρατιὰν ὀκτὼ μῆνας ταῖς αὐτῶν δαπάναις

διέθρεψαν, τοὺς δ' ὑπὲρ αὐτῶν κινδυνεύοντας ἑτέροι  
 τοσοῦτου χρόνου τὸν μισθὸν ἀπεστέρησαν· καὶ τοῖς  
 μὲν Κισθίην καταλαβοῦσιν ἑκατὸν τάλαντα διένειμαν,  
 τοὺς δὲ μεθ' αὐτῶν εἰς Κύπρον στρατευσαμένους μάλ-  
 5 λον ἢ τοὺς αἰχμαλώτους ὕβριζον. Ὡς δ' ἀπλῶς εἰπεῖν  
 καὶ μὴ καθ' ἓν ἕκαστον, ἀλλ' ὡς ἐπὶ τὸ πολὺ, τίς ἢ  
 τῶν πολεμησάντων αὐτοῖς οὐκ εὐδαιμονήσας ἀπήλθεν,  
 ἢ τῶν ὑπ' ἐκείνοις γενομένων οὐκ αἰκισθεὶς τὸν βίον  
 ἐτελεύτησεν; Οὐ Κόνωνα μὲν, ὃς ὑπὲρ τῆς Ἀσίας  
 10 στρατηγήσας τὴν ἀρχὴν τὴν Λακεδαιμονίων κατέλυ-  
 σεν, ἐπὶ θανάτῳ συλλαβεῖν ἐτόλμησαν, Θεμιστοκλέα  
 δ', ὃς ὑπὲρ τῆς Ἑλλάδος αὐτοὺς κατεναυμάχησε, τῶν  
 μεγίστων δωρεῶν ἠξίωσαν; Καίτοι πῶς χρὴ τὴν  
 τούτων φιλίαν ἀγαπᾶν, οἳ τοὺς μὲν εὐεργέτας τιμω-  
 15 ροῦνται, τοὺς δὲ κακῶς ποιοῦντας οὕτως ἐπιφανῶς  
 κολακεύουσιν; Περὶ τίνας δ' ἡμῶν οὐκ ἐξημαρτή-  
 κασιν; Ποῖον δὲ χρόνον διαλελοίπασιν ἐπιβουλεύον-  
 τες τοῖς Ἑλλησιν; Τί δ' οὐκ ἐχθρὸν αὐτοῖς ἐστὶ  
 τῶν παρ' ἡμῖν, οἳ καὶ τὰ τῶν θεῶν ἔδη καὶ τοὺς νε-  
 20 ὡς συλᾶν ἐν τῷ προτέρῳ πολέμῳ καὶ κατακάειν  
 ἐτόλμησαν;

Διὸ καὶ τοὺς Ἴωνας ἄξιον ἐπαινεῖν, ὅτι τῶν ἐμ-  
 πρησθέντων ἱερῶν ἐπηράσαντο εἴ τινες κινήσειαν ἢ  
 πάλιν εἰς τὰρχαῖα καταστήσασιν βουλευθεῖεν, οὐκ ἀπο-  
 25 ροῦντες πόθεν ἐπισκευάσωσιν, ἀλλ' ἔν' ὑπόμνημα τοῖς  
 ἐπιγιγνομένοις ἢ τῆς τῶν βαρβάρων ἀσεβείας, καὶ  
 μηδεὶς πιστεύῃ τοῖς τοιαῦτα εἰς τὰ τῶν θεῶν ἔξαμαρ-



τεῖν τολμῶσιν, ἀλλὰ καὶ φυλάττωνται καὶ δεδίωσιν, ὀρῶντες αὐτοὺς οὐ μόνον τοῖς σώμασιν ἡμῶν, ἀλλὰ καὶ τοῖς ἀναθήμασι πολεμήσαντας.

Ἔχω δὲ καὶ περὶ τῶν πολιτῶν τῶν ἡμετέρων τοιαῦτα διελθεῖν. Καὶ γὰρ οὗτοι πρὸς μὲν τοὺς ἄλλους 5 ὅσοις πεπολεμήκασιν ἅμα διαλλάττονται καὶ τῆς ἔχθρας τῆς γεγενημένης ἐπιλανθάνονται, τοῖς δ' ἠπειρώταις οὐδ' ὅταν εὖ πάσχωσι χάριν ἴσασιν· οὕτως ἀείμνηστον τὴν ὀργὴν πρὸς αὐτοὺς ἔχουσιν. Καὶ πολλῶν μὲν οἱ πατέρες ἡμῶν μηδισμοῦ θάνατον κατέγνωσαν, 10 ἐν δὲ τοῖς συλλόγοις ἔτι καὶ νῦν ἀρὰς ποιοῦνται, πρὶν ἄλλο τι χρήματιζεῖν, εἴ τις ἐπικηρυκεύεται Πέρσαις τῶν πολιτῶν· Εὐμολπίδαι δὲ καὶ κήρυκες ἐν τῇ τελετῇ τῶν μυστηρίων διὰ τὸ τούτων μῖσος καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις βαρβάροις εἶργεσθαι τῶν ἱερῶν, ὥσπερ 15 τοῖς ἀνδροφόνοις, προαγορεύουσιν. Οὕτω δὲ φύσει πολεμικῶς πρὸς αὐτοὺς ἔχομεν, ὥστε καὶ τῶν μύθων ἥδιστα συνδιατρίβομεν τοῖς Τρωϊκοῖς καὶ Περσικοῖς, δι' ὧν ἔστι πυνθάνεσθαι τὰς ἐκείνων συμφοράς. Εὐροὶ δ' ἂν τις ἐκ μὲν τοῦ πολέμου τοῦ πρὸς τοὺς 20 βαρβάρους ὕμνους πεποιημένους, ἐκ δὲ τοῦ πρὸς τοὺς Ἕλληνας θρήνους ἡμῖν γεγενημένους, καὶ τοὺς μὲν ἐν ταῖς ἐορταῖς ἀδομένους, τῶν δ' ἐπὶ ταῖς συμφοραῖς ἡμᾶς μεμνημένους. Οἶμαι δὲ καὶ τὴν Ὀμήρου ποίησιν μείζω λαβεῖν δόξαν, ὅτι καλῶς τοὺς πολε- 25 μήσαντας τοῖς βαρβάροις ἐνεκωμίασε, καὶ διὰ τοῦτο βουλευθῆναι τοὺς προγόνους ἡμῶν ἔντιμον αὐτοῦ ποι-

ἦσαι τὴν τέχνην ἔν τε τοῖς τῆς μουσικῆς ἄθλοις καὶ τῇ παιδεύσει τῶν νεωτέρων, ἵνα πολλάκις ἀκούοντες τῶν ἐπῶν ἐκμανθάνωμεν τὴν ἔχθραν τὴν ὑπάρχουσαι πρὸς αὐτούς, καὶ ζηλοῦντες τὰς ἀρετὰς τῶν στρατευ-  
 5 σαμένων ἐπὶ Τροίαν τῶν αὐτῶν ἔργων ἐκείνοις ἐπιθυμῶμεν.

“Ὡστε μοι δοκεῖ πολλὰ λίαν εἶναι τὰ παρακελευόμενα πολεμεῖν αὐτοῖς, μάλιστα δ’ ὁ παρὼν καιρός, ὃν οὐκ ἀφετέον· καὶ γὰρ αἰσχρὸν παρόντι μὲν μὴ  
 10 χρῆσθαι, παρελθόντος δ’ αὐτοῦ μεμνήσθαι. Τί γὰρ ἂν καὶ βουλευθεῖμεν ἡμῖν προσγενέσθαι, μέλλοντες βασιλεῖ πολεμεῖν, ἔξω τῶν νῦν ὑπαρχόντων; Οὐκ Αἴγυπτος μὲν αὐτοῦ καὶ Κύπρος ἀφέστηκε, Φοινίκη δὲ καὶ Συρία διὰ τὸν πόλεμον ἀνάστατοι γεγόνασι,  
 15 Τύρος δ’, ἐφ’ ἣ μὲγ’ ἐφρόνησεν, ὑπὸ τῶν ἐχθρῶν τῶν ἐκείνου κατείληπται; Τῶν δ’ ἐν Κιλικίᾳ πόλεων τὰς μὲν πλείστας οἱ μεθ’ ἡμῶν ὄντες ἔχουσι, τὰς δ’ οὐ χαλεπὸν ἐστὶ κτήσασθαι. Λυκίας δ’ οὐδ’ εἰς πρόποτε Περσῶν ἐκράτησεν. Ἐκατόμνωσ δ’ ὁ  
 20 Καρίας ἐπίσταθμος τῇ μὲν ἀληθείᾳ πολὺν ἤδη χρόνον ἀφέστηκεν, ὁμολογήσει δ’ ὅταν ἡμεῖς βουλευθῶμεν. Ἀπὸ δὲ Κνίδου μέχρι Σινώπης Ἕλληνες τὴν Ἀσίαν παροικοῦσιν, οὓς οὐ δεῖ πείθειν, ἀλλὰ μὴ κωλυεῖν πολεμεῖν. Καίτοι τοιούτων ὀρμητηρίων ὑπαρ-  
 25 ξάντων, καὶ τοσοῦτου πολέμου τὴν Ἀσίαν περιστάντος, τί δεῖ τὰ συμβησόμενα λίαν ἀκριβῶς ἐξετάζειν; Ὅπου γὰρ μικρῶν μερῶν ἦπτους εἰσίν, οὐκ ἄδηλοι

ὡς ἂν διατεθείεν, εἰ πᾶσιν ἡμῖν πολεμεῖν ἀναγκα-  
 σθείεν. Ἐχει δ' οὕτως. Ἐὰν μὲν ὁ βάρβαρος ἐρ-  
 ρωμενεστέρως κατάσχη τὰς πόλεις τὰς ἐπὶ θαλάττῃ,  
 φρουρὰς μείζους ἐν αὐταῖς ἢ νῦν ἐγκαταστήσας, τάχ'  
 ἂν καὶ τῶν νήσων αἱ περὶ τὴν ἠπειρον, οἷον Ῥόδος 5  
 καὶ Σάμος καὶ Χίος, ἐπὶ τὰς ἐκείνου τύχας ἀποκλί-  
 ναιεν· ἦν δ' ἡμεῖς αὐτὰς πρότεροι καταλάβωμεν, εἰ-  
 κὸς τοὺς τὴν Λυδίαν καὶ Φρυγίαν καὶ τὴν ἄλλην τὴν  
 ὑπερκειμένην χώραν οἰκοῦντας ἐπὶ τοῖς ἐντεύθεν ὀρ-  
 μωμένοις εἶναι.

10

Διὸ δεῖ σπεύδειν καὶ μηδεμίαν ποιεῖσθαι διατρι-  
 βήν, ἵνα μὴ πάθωμεν ὅπερ οἱ πατέρες ἡμῶν. Ἐκεί-  
 νοι γὰρ ὑστερίσαντες τῶν βαρβάρων καὶ προέμενοι  
 τινὰς τῶν συμμάχων ἠναγκάσθησαν ὀλίγοι πρὸς πολ-  
 λούς κινδυνεύειν, ἐξὸν αὐτοῖς προτέροις διαβάσιν εἰς 15  
 τὴν ἠπειρον μετὰ πάσης τῆς τῶν Ἑλλήνων δυνάμε-  
 ως ἐν μέρει τῶν ἐθνῶν ἕκαστον χειροῦσθαι. Δέδει-  
 κται γάρ, ὅταν τις πολεμῇ πρὸς ἀνθρώπους ἐκ πολ-  
 λῶν τόπων συλλεγομένους, ὅτι δεῖ μὴ περιμένειν ἕως  
 ἂν ἐπιστῶσιν, ἀλλ' ἔτι διεσπαρμένοις αὐτοῖς ἐπιχει- 20  
 ρεῖν. Ἐκείνοι μὲν οὖν προεξαμαρτόντες ἅπαντα ταῦτ'  
 ἐπληρωθῶσαντο, καταστάντες εἰς τοὺς μεγίστους ἀγῶ-  
 νας. Ἡμεῖς δ' ἂν σωφρονῶμεν, ἐξ ἀρχῆς φυλαξό-  
 μεθα, καὶ πειρασόμεθα φθῆναι περὶ τὴν Λυδίαν καὶ  
 τὴν Ἰωνίαν στρατόπεδον ἐγκαταστήσαντες, εἰδότες, 25  
 ὅτι καὶ βασιλεὺς οὐχ ἐκόντων ἄρχει τῶν ἠπειρωτῶν,  
 ἀλλὰ μείζω δύναμιν περὶ αὐτὸν ἐκάστων αὐτῶν

ποιησάμενος· ἥς ἡμεῖς ὅταν κρείττω διαβιβάσωμεν, ὁ βουλευθέντες ῥαδίως ἂν ποιήσαιμεν, ἀσφαλῶς ἅπασαν τὴν Ἀσίαν καρπωσόμεθα. Πολὺν δὲ κάλλιον ἐκείνῳ περὶ τῆς βασιλείας πολεμεῖν ἢ πρὸς ἡμᾶς  
 5 αὐτοὺς περὶ τῆς ἡγεμονίας ἀμφισβητεῖν.

Ἄξιον δ' ἐπὶ τῆς νῦν ἡλικίας ποιήσασθαι τὴν στρατείαν, ἕν' οἱ τῶν συμφορῶν κοινωνήσαντες, οὗτοι καὶ τῶν ἀγαθῶν ἀπολαύσωσι καὶ μὴ πάντα τὸν χρόνον δυστυχοῦντες διαγάγωσιν. Ἰκανὸς γὰρ ὁ παρε-  
 10 ληλυθῶς, ἐν ᾧ τί τῶν δεινῶν οὐ γέγονεν; Πολλῶν γὰρ κακῶν τῇ φύσει τῇ τῶν ἀνθρώπων ὑπαρχόντων αὐτοὶ πλείω τῶν ἀναγκαίων προσεξευρήκαμεν, πολέμους καὶ στάσεις ἡμῖν αὐτοῖς ἐμποιήσαντες, ὥστε τοὺς μὲν ἐν ταῖς αὐτῶν ἀνόμως ἀπόλλυσθαι, τοὺς  
 15 δ' ἐπὶ ξένης μετὰ παίδων καὶ γυναικῶν ἀλᾶσθαι, πολλοὺς δὲ δι' ἔνδειαν τῶν καθ' ἡμέραν ἐπικουρεῖν ἀναγκαζομένους ὑπὲρ τῶν ἐχθρῶν τοῖς φίλοις μαχομένους ἀποθνήσκειν. Ὑπὲρ ὧν οὐδεὶς πώποτ' ἠγανάκτησεν, ἀλλ' ἐπὶ μὲν ταῖς συμφοραῖς ταῖς ὑπὸ τῶν  
 20 ποιητῶν συγκειμέναις δακρύειν ἀξιούσιν, ἀληθινὰ δὲ πάθη πολλὰ καὶ δεινὰ γιγνόμενα διὰ τὸν πόλεμον ἐφορῶντες τοσούτου δέουσιν ἐλεεῖν, ὥστε καὶ μᾶλλον χαίρουσιν ἐπὶ τοῖς ἀλλήλων κακοῖς ἢ τοῖς αὐτῶν ἰδίῳις ἀγαθοῖς.

Ἴσως δ' ἂν καὶ τῆς ἐμῆς εὐηθείας πολλοὶ καταγέλασειαν, εἰ δυστυχίας ἀνδρῶν ὀδυροίμην ἐν τοῖς τοιούτοις καιροῖς, ἐν οἷς Ἰταλία μὲν ἀνάστατος γέ-

γονε, Σικελία δὲ καταδεδούλωται, τοσαῦται δὲ πόλεις τοῖς βαρβάροις ἐκδέδονται, τὰ δὲ λοιπὰ μέρη τῶν Ἑλλήνων ἐν τοῖς μεγίστοις κινδύνοις ἐστίν.

Θαυμάζω δὲ τῶν δυναστευόντων ἐν ταῖς πόλεσιν, εἰ προσήκειν αὐτοῖς ἡγοῦνται μέγα φρονεῖν, μηδὲν 5 πώποθ' ὑπὲρ τηλικούτων πραγμάτων μήτ' εἰπεῖν μήτ' ἐνθυμηθῆναι δυνηθέντες. Ἐχρῆν γὰρ αὐτούς, εἴπερ ἦσαν ἄξιοι τῆς παρούσης δόξης, ἀπάντων ἀφεμένους τῶν ἄλλων περὶ τοῦ πολέμου τοῦ πρὸς βαρβάρους εἰσηγεῖσθαι καὶ συμβουλεύειν. Τυχὸν μὲν 10 γὰρ ἂν τι συνεπέραναν· εἰ δὲ καὶ προαπεῖπον, ἀλλ' οὖν τούς γε λόγους ὥσπερ χρησμούς εἰς τὸν ἐπιόντα χρόνον ἂν κατέλιπον. Νῦν δ' οἱ μὲν ἐν ταῖς μεγίσταις δόξαις ὄντες ἐπὶ μικροῖς σπουδάζουσιν, ἡμῖν δὲ τοῖς τῶν πολιτικῶν ἐξεστηκόσι περὶ τηλικούτων 15 πραγμάτων συμβουλεύειν παραλελοίπασιν.

Οὐ μὴν ἀλλ' ὅσῳ μικροψυχότεροι τυγχάνουσιν ὄντες οἱ προεστῶτες ἡμῶν, τοσούτῳ τοὺς ἄλλους ἐρρώμενεστέρωσ δεῖ σκοπεῖν, ὅπως ἀπαλλαγῶμεθα τῆς παρούσης ἔχθρας. Νῦν μὲν γὰρ μάτην ποιούμεθα 20 τὰς περὶ τῆς εἰρήνης συνθήκας· οὐ γὰρ διαλυόμεθα τοὺς πολέμους, ἀλλ' ἀναβαλλόμεθα, καὶ περιμένομεν τοὺς καιροὺς ἐν οἷς ἀνήκεστόν τι κακὸν ἀλλήλους ἐργάσασθαι δυνησόμεθα. Δεῖ δὲ ταύτας τὰς ἐπιβου- 25 λὰς ἐκποδὸν ποιησαμένους ἐκείνοις τοῖς ἔργοις ἐπιχειρεῖν, ἐξ ὧν τὰς τε πόλεις ἀσφαλέστερον οἰκήσομεν καὶ πιστότερον διακεισόμεθα πρὸς ἡμᾶς αὐτούς.

"Ἔστι δ' ἀπλοῦς καὶ ῥάδιος ὁ λόγος ὁ περὶ τούτων· οὔτε γὰρ εἰρήνην οἶόν τε βεβαίαν ἀγαγεῖν, ἢν μὴ κοινῇ τοῖς βαρβάροις πολεμήσωμεν, οὔθ' ὁμονοῆσαι τοὺς Ἕλληνας, πρὶν ἂν καὶ τὰς ὠφελίας ἐκ τῶν  
 5 αὐτῶν καὶ τοὺς κινδύνους πρὸς τοὺς αὐτοὺς ποιησώμεθα. Τούτων δὲ γενομένων, καὶ τῆς ἀπορίας τῆς περὶ τὸν βίον ἡμῶν ἀφαιρεθείσης, ἣ καὶ τὰς ἐταιρίας διαλύει καὶ τὰς συγγενείας εἰς ἔχθραν προάγει καὶ πάντας ἀνθρώπους εἰς πολέμους καὶ στάσεις κα-  
 10 θίστησιν, οὐκ ἔστιν ὅπως οὐχ ὁμονοήσομεν καὶ τὰς εὐνοίας ἀληθινὰς πρὸς ἡμᾶς αὐτοὺς ἔξομεν. Ὡν ἕνεκα περὶ παντὸς ποιητέον, ὅπως ὡς τάχιστα τὸν ἐνθένδε πόλεμον εἰς τὴν ἡπειρον διοριούμεν, ὡς μόνον ἂν τοῦτ' ἀγαθὸν ἀπολαύσαιμεν τῶν κινδύνων τῶν  
 15 πρὸς ἡμᾶς αὐτοῦς, εἰ ταῖς ἐμπειρίαις ταῖς ἐκ τούτων γεγενημέναις πρὸς τὸν βάρβαρον καταχρήσασθαι δόξειεν ἡμῖν.

Ἄλλὰ γὰρ ἴσως διὰ τὰς συνθήκας ἄξιον ἐπισχεῖν, ἀλλ' οὐκ ἐπειχθῆναι καὶ θάττον ποιήσασθαι τὴν  
 20 στρατείαν; Δι' ἃς αἱ μὲν ἠλευθερωμένοι τῶν πόλεων βασιλεῖ χάριν ἴσασιν, ὡς δι' ἐκείνον τυχοῦσαι τῆς αὐτονομίας ταύτης, αἱ δ' ἐκδεδομένοι τοῖς βαρβάροις μάλιστα μὲν Λακεδαιμονίοις ἐπικαλοῦσιν, ἔπειτα δὲ καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις τοῖς μετασχοῦσι τῆς εἰρήνης, ὡς  
 25 ὑπὸ τούτων δουλεύειν ἠναγκασμένοι. Καίτοι πῶς οὐ χρὴ διαλύειν ταύτας τὰς ὁμολογίας, ἐξ ὧν τοιαύτη δόξα γέγονεν, ὥστε ὁ μὲν βάρβαρος κήδεται τῆς



Ελλάδος καὶ φύλαξ τῆς εἰρήνης ἐστίν, ἡμῶν δέ τινές εἰσιν οἱ λυμαινόμενοι καὶ κακῶς ποιούντες αὐτήν ; Ο δὲ πάντων καταγελαστότατον, ὅτι τῶν γεγραμμένων ἐν ταῖς ὁμολογίαις τὰ χεῖριστα τυγχάνομεν διαφυλάττοντες. Ἄ μὲν γὰρ αὐτονόμους ἀφήσει τὰς τε 5 νῆσους καὶ τὰς πόλεις τὰς ἐπὶ τῆς Εὐρώπης πάλαι λέλυται καὶ μάτην ἐν ταῖς στήλαις ἐστίν· ἃ δ' αἰσχύνην ἡμῖν φέρει καὶ πολλοὺς τῶν συμμάχων ἐκδέδωκε, ταῦτα δὲ κατὰ χώραν μένει καὶ πάντες αὐτὰ κύρια ποιούμεν, ἃ χρῆν ἀναιρεῖν καὶ μηδεμίαν 10 εἶν ἡμέραν, νομίζοντας προστάγματα καὶ μὴ συνθήκας εἶναι.

Τίς γὰρ οὐκ οἶδεν, ὅτι συνθήκαι μὲν εἰσιν αἴτινες ἂν ἴσως καὶ κοινῶς ἐν ἀμφοτέροις ἔχωσι, προστάγματα δὲ τὰ τοὺς ἑτέρους ἐλαττοῦντα παρὰ τὸ δί- 15 καιον ; Διὸ καὶ τῶν πρεσβευσύντων ταύτην τὴν εἰρήνην δικαίως ἂν κατηγοροῖμεν, ὅτι πεμφθέντες ὑπὸ τῶν Ἑλλήνων ὑπὲρ τῶν βαρβάρων ἐποίησαντο τὰς συνθήκας. Ἐχρῆν γὰρ αὐτοὺς, εἴτ' ἐδόκει τὴν αὐτῶν ἔχειν ἐκάστους, εἴτε καὶ τῶν δοριαλώτων ἐπάρχειν, 20 εἴτε τούτων κρατεῖν ὧν ὑπὸ τὴν εἰρήνην ἐτυγχάνομεν ἔχοντες, ἐν τι τούτων ὀρισσαμένους καὶ κοινὸν τὸ δίκαιον ποιησαμένους, οὕτω συγγράφεσθαι περὶ αὐτῶν. Νῦν δὲ τῇ μὲν ἡμετέρα πόλει καὶ τῇ Λακεδαιμονίων οὐδεμίαν τιμὴν ἀπένειμαν, τὸν δὲ βάρβαρον ἀπάσης 25 τῆς Ἀσίας δεσπότην κατέστησαν, ὡς ὑπὲρ ἐκείνου πολεμησάντων ἡμῶν, ἢ τῆς μὲν Περσῶν ἀρχῆς πάλαι

καθεστηκυίας, ἡμῶν δὲ ἄρτι τὰς πόλεις κατοικούντων, ἀλλ' οὐκ ἐκείνων μὲν νεωστὶ ταύτην τὴν τιμὴν ἐχόντων, ἡμῶν δὲ τὸν ἅπαντα χρόνον ἐν τοῖς Ἑλλήσι δυναστευόντων.

5 Οἶμαι δ' ἐκείνως εἰπὼν μᾶλλον δηλώσειν τὴν τε περὶ ἡμᾶς ἀτιμίαν γεγενημένην καὶ τὴν τοῦ βασιλέως πλεονεξίαν. Τῆς γὰρ γῆς ἀπάσης τῆς ὑπὸ τῷ κόσμῳ κειμένης δίχα τετμημένης, καὶ τῆς μὲν Ἀσίας, τῆς δ' Εὐρώπης καλουμένης, τὴν ἡμίσειαν ἐκ τῶν  
10 συνθηκῶν ἔληφεν, ὥσπερ πρὸς τὸν Δία τὴν χώραν νεμόμενος, ἀλλ' οὐ πρὸς ἀνθρώπους τὰς συνθήκας ποιούμενος. Καὶ ταύτας ἡμᾶς ἠνάγκασεν ἐν στήλαις λιθίναις ἀναγράψαντας ἐν τοῖς κοινοῖς τῶν ἱερῶν ἀναθεῖναι, πολὺ κάλλιον τρόπαιον τῶν ἐν ταῖς μά-  
15 χαις γιγνομένων· τὰ μὲν γὰρ ὑπὲρ μικρῶν ἔργων καὶ μιᾶς τύχης ἔστιν, αὐταὶ δ' ὑπὲρ ἅπαντος τοῦ πολέμου καὶ καθ' ὅλης τῆς Ἑλλάδος ἐστήκασιν.

Ἐπεὶ ὦν ἄξιον ὀργίζεσθαι καὶ σκοπεῖν, ὅπως τῶν τε γεγενημένων δίκην ληψόμεθα καὶ τὰ μέλλοντα  
20 διορθωσόμεθα. Καὶ γὰρ αἰσχρὸν ἰδίᾳ μὲν τοῖς βαρβάροις οἰκέταις ἀξιούν χρησθαι, δημοσίᾳ δὲ τοσούτους τῶν συμμάχων περιορᾶν αὐτοῖς δουλεύοντας, καὶ τοὺς μὲν περὶ τὰ Τρωικὰ γενομένους μιᾶς γυναικὸς ἀρπασθείσης οὕτως ἅπαντας συνοργισθῆναι τοῖς ἀδι-  
25 κηθείσιν, ὥστε μὴ πρότερον παύσασθαι πολεμοῦντας, πρὶν τὴν πόλιν ἀνάστατον ἐποίησαν τοῦ τολμήσαντος ἐξαμαρτεῖν, ἡμᾶς δ' ὅλης τῆς Ἑλλάδος ὑβριζομένης

μηδεμίαν ποιήσασθαι κοινήν τιμωρίαν, ἔξον ἡμῖν εὐ-  
 χῆς ἄξια διαπράξασθαι. Μόνος γὰρ οὗτος ὁ πόλε-  
 μος εἰρήνης κρείττων ἐστί, θεωρία μὲν μᾶλλον ἢ  
 στρατεία προσεικώς, ἀμφοτέροις δὲ συμφέρων, καὶ  
 τοῖς ἡσυχίαν ἄγειν βουλομένοις καὶ τοῖς πολεμεῖν  
 ἐπιθυμοῦσιν. Εἴη γὰρ ἂν τοῖς μὲν ἀδεῶς τὰ σφέ-  
 τερ' αὐτῶν καρποῦσθαι, τοῖς δ' ἐκ τῶν ἀλλοτρίων  
 μεγάλους πλούτους κατακτήσασθαι.

Πολλαχοῦ δ' ἂν τις λογιζόμενος εὖροι ταύτας τὰς  
 πράξεις μάλιστα λυσιτελούσας ἡμῖν. Φέρε γάρ, πρὸς 10  
 τίνας χρῆ πολεμεῖν τοὺς μηδεμιᾶς πλεονεξίας ἐπιθυ-  
 μούντας, ἀλλ' αὐτὸ τὸ δίκαιον σκοποῦντας; Οὐ  
 πρὸς τοὺς καὶ πρότερον κακῶς τὴν Ἑλλάδα ποιή-  
 σαντας καὶ νῦν ἐπιβουλεύοντας καὶ πάντα τὸν χρό-  
 νον οὕτω πρὸς ἡμᾶς διακειμένους; Τίσι δὲ φθονεῖν 15  
 εἰκός ἐστί τοὺς μὴ παντάπασιν ἀνάνδρως διακειμέ-  
 νους, ἀλλὰ μετρίως τούτῳ τῷ πράγματι χρωμένους;  
 Οὐ τοῖς μείζους μὲν τὰς δυναστείας ἢ κατ' ἀνθρώ-  
 πους περιβεβλημένοις, ἐλάττονος δ' ἀξίοις τῶν παρ'  
 ἡμῖν δυστυχοῦντων; Ἐπὶ τίνας δὲ στρατεύειν προσ- 20  
 ἡκει τοὺς ἅμα μὲν εὐσεβεῖν βουλομένους, ἅμα δὲ τοῦ  
 συμφέροντος ἐνθυμουμένους; Οὐκ ἐπὶ τοὺς καὶ φύ-  
 σει πολεμίους καὶ πατρικούς ἐχθροὺς καὶ πλείστα  
 μὲν ἀγαθὰ κεκτημένους, ἥκιστα δ' ὑπὲρ αὐτῶν ἀμύ-  
 νεσθαι δυναμένους; Οὐκοῦν ἐκεῖνοι πᾶσι τούτοις 25  
 ἔνοχοι τυγχάνουσιν ὄντες.

Καὶ μὴν οὐδὲ τὰς πόλεις λυπήσομεν στρατιώ-

τας ἐξ αὐτῶν καταλέγοντες, ὃ νῦν ἐν τῷ πολέμῳ  
 τῷ πρὸς ἀλλήλους ὀχληρότατόν ἐστιν αὐταῖς· πολὺ  
 γὰρ οἶμαι σπανιωτέρους ἔσεσθαι τοὺς μένειν ἐθελή-  
 σοντας τῶν συνακολουθεῖν ἐπιθυμησόντων. Τίς γὰρ  
 5 οὔτως ἢ νέος ἢ παλαιὸς ράθυμός ἐστιν, ὅστις οὐ  
 μετασχεῖν βουλήσεται ταύτης τῆς στρατιᾶς τῆς ὑπ'  
 Ἀθηναίων μὲν καὶ Λακεδαιμονίων στρατηγουμένης,  
 ὑπὲρ δὲ τῆς τῶν συμμάχων ἐλευθερίας ἀθροισμένης,  
 ὑπὸ δὲ τῆς Ἑλλάδος ἀπάσης ἐκπεμπομένης, ἐπὶ δὲ  
 10 τὴν τῶν βαρβάρων τιμωρίαν πορευομένης; Φήμην  
 δὲ καὶ μνήμην καὶ δόξαν πόσῃν τινὰ χρὴ νομίζειν  
 ἢ ζῶντας ἔξειν ἢ τελευτήσαντας καταλείψειν τοὺς ἐν  
 τοῖς τοιούτοις ἔργοις ἀριστεύσαντας; Ὅπου γὰρ οἱ  
 πρὸς Ἀλέξανδρον πολεμήσαντες καὶ μίαν πόλιν ἐλόν-  
 15 τες τοιούτων ἐπαίνων ἠξιώθησαν, πείων τιῶν χρὴ  
 προσδοκᾶν ἐγκωμίων τεύξεσθαι τοὺς ὅλης τῆς Ἀσίας  
 κρατήσαντας; Τίς γὰρ ἢ τῶν ποιεῖν δυναμένων ἢ  
 τῶν λέγειν ἐπισταμένων οὐ πονήσει καὶ φιλοσοφή-  
 σει, βουλόμενος ἅμα τε τῆς αὐτοῦ διανοίας καὶ τῆς  
 20 ἐκείνων ἀρετῆς μνημεῖον εἰς ἅπαντα τὸν χρόνον κα-  
 ταλιπεῖν;

Οὐ τὴν αὐτὴν δὲ τυγχάνω γνώμην ἔχων ἔν τε τῷ  
 παρόντι καὶ περὶ τὰς ἀρχὰς τοῦ λόγου. Τότε μὲν  
 γὰρ ᾧμην ἀξίως δυνήσεσθαι τῶν πραγμάτων εἰπεῖν·  
 25 νῦν δ' οὐκ ἐφικνούμαι τοῦ μεγέθους αὐτῶν, ἀλλὰ  
 πολλά με διαπέφευγεν ὧν διανοήθην. Αὐτοὺς οὖν  
 χρὴ συνδιωρᾶν ὅσης ἂν εὐδαιμονίας τύχοιμεν, εἰ τὸν

μὲν πόλεμον τὸν νῦν ὄντα περὶ ἡμᾶς πρὸς τοὺς  
 ἠπειρώτας ποιησαίμεθα, τὴν δ' εὐδαιμονίαν τὴν ἐκ  
 τῆς Ἀσίας εἰς τὴν Εὐρώπην διακομίσοιμεν, καὶ μὴ  
 μόνον ἀκροατὰς γενομένους ἀπελθεῖν, ἀλλὰ τοὺς μὲν  
 πράττειν δυναμένους παρακαλοῦντας ἀλλήλους πειρᾶ- 5  
 σθαι διαλλάττειν τὴν τε πόλιν τὴν ἡμετέραν καὶ  
 τὴν Λακεδαιμονίων, τοὺς δὲ τῶν λόγων ἀμφισβητοῦν-  
 τας πρὸς μὲν τὴν παρακαταθήκην καὶ περὶ τῶν ἄλ-  
 λων ὧν νῦν φλυαροῦσι παύεσθαι γράφοντας, πρὸς δὲ  
 τοῦτον τὸν λόγον ποιεῖσθαι τὴν ἄμιλλαν, καὶ σκο- 10  
 πεῖν, ὅπως ἄμεινον ἐμοῦ περὶ τῶν αὐτῶν πραγμάτων  
 ἐροῦσιν, ἐνθυμουμένους, ὅτι τοῖς μεγάλα ὑπισχνουμέ-  
 νοις οὐ πρέπει περὶ μικρὰ διατρίβειν, οὐδὲ τοιαῦτα  
 λέγειν, ἐξ ὧν ὁ βίος μηδὲν ἐπιδώσει τῶν πεισθέν-  
 των, ἀλλ' ὧν ἐπιτελεσθέντων αὐτοί τε ἀπαλλαγῆσον- 15  
 ται τῆς παρούσης ἀπορίας καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις μεγάλων  
 ἀγαθῶν αἴτιοι δόξουσιν εἶναι.





NOTES.



## NOTES.

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A PANEGYRICAL DISCOURSE originally meant one composed to be read or delivered at a great festival, called a *πανήγυρις*; hence its name, *πανηγυρικός*, or *πανηγυρικός λόγος*. These discourses were generally laudatory in their style, and finally any composition in praise of an individual or a state was called a *panegyric*.

Page 3, l. 1. *πανηγύρεις*. Festival assemblies, of which there was a great variety in Greece. Some were established for a single state, or for two or three states that bordered upon each other. Some were more comprehensive. Four of them, the Olympian, Pythian, Nemean, and Isthmian, rose to great national importance. Their origin was traced back into the mythical antiquity, and their foundation was laid by heroes and demigods. They became periodic celebrations in historical times, and lasted long after the independence of Greece was lost, and the country had sunk into the rank of a province of the Roman empire. The Olympian and Pythian were held every four years, the Nemean and Isthmian every two; each of the former two was called, according to the Greek mode of reckoning, a *πενταετηρίς*, and each of the latter a *τριετηρίς*. They furnished a means of recording events chronologically. The Olympiads, in particular, were used for this purpose, beginning with 776 B. C., the date of the first recorded Olympic victory.

During the periods of these national celebrations, a truce was proclaimed between hostile states. In this respect, their influence must have been highly favorable to the progress of civilization. The contests were, for the most part, gymnastic and equestrian. In some of them, musical rivalries formed part of the entertainment. Authors frequently seized the opportunity which such large assemblies afforded of reading their works; and this was one mode of publishing them to the world. Deputies from the different nations of Greece and from the colonies, and even from princes of Greek descent, like Hiero of Syracuse and Arcesilaus of Cyrene, attended in magnificent state. The enthusiasm excited by these games was profound and universal; the ambition for victory, one of the strongest passions of the Hellenic mind. The winner of the wreath of pine or the parsley crown was the most fortunate and envied of mortals. Honors and applause could not be lavished upon him enough. His triumph was celebrated by processions, sacrifices, feasts, and, above all, by the united and richest strains of the poet and musician. Of the immense variety of Pindar's odes, none have been preserved entire except those in honor of the Olympian, Pythian, Nemean, and Isthmian victors. Solon, by public enactment, offered large rewards to those Athenians who gained prizes at the Olympian and Pythian games; such was that great man's sense of their national importance. In a later age, the benefits of this eagerness for the agonistic victory were questioned by philosophical minds. Isocrates intimates, in the Introduction, a comparison, in respect to usefulness, between those who devoted themselves to this species of public service and those who trained their minds to intellectual labors, showing that in his time the renown of an athlete had begun to be considered a rude kind of glory, compared with that of the statesman, the thinker, and the teacher.

1, 2. *συναγαγόντων*. In the old editions, the reading was *ἀγόντων*. But Isocrates is not speaking of those who took part in the games, but of the founders. Literally, *those who brought the festal assemblies together*; i. e. those who instituted them. The word is appropriate to *πανηγύρεις*, as *καταστησάντων*, in the next line, is to *γυμνικούς ἀγῶνας*. Genitive constructed with *ἐθαύμασα*. For the phrase *πολλάκις ἐθαύμασα*, see G. § 30, 1, n. 1.

4. *ιδία*, *in private*, i. e. by private study and meditation; as the philosophers and moralists did, and particularly those who, like Isocrates, occupied themselves with subjects that concerned the public welfare.

6. *τούτοις δ'*. For *δέ* in Apodosis, see G. § 57, and last Rem. under § 64.

7. *εἰκὸς ἦν ποιήσασθαι*, § 49, 2, n. 3.

9. *οὐδὲν . . . ἄλλοις*, *no advantage would accrue to others*.

9, 10. [*λαβόντων* and *φρονήσαντος* are in protasis, equivalent to the aor. opt.] G. § 109, 6; § 52, 1. — *ἀπολαύσειαν ἄν*, *would enjoy the benefit*.

14. *ἤκω συμβουλεύσω*, *I am come to give advice*; future participle expressing intention or purpose. G. § 109, 5.

15. *τε . . . καί*. "When *τε* is placed after the preposition, the preposition is usually repeated after *καί*; but if the *τε* is joined, not to the preposition itself, but to the article or noun, then the preposition is usually omitted after *καί*." Bremi. One object of the discourse was to persuade the Greeks to lay aside their discords with one another, and to unite in a common war against the Barbarians, i. e. the Persians. Philip of Macedon adopted the plan previously to his assassination, and his son Alexander executed it.

17. *σοφιστῶν*, *Sophists*. *Σοφιστὰς δ' ἐκάλουν*, says Coray, *παρὰ τὸ σοφίζειν, τοὺς διδάσκοντας τὴν τῶν λόγων ἐπιστήμην*. Gorgias, Thrasymachus, Protagoras, Hippias, were Sophists,

or teachers of this description. Bremi says: “*Σοφισταί* primum dicti sunt omnes σοφοί, qui sive scientia rerum ad philosophiam pertinentium, sive alia arte excellerent. Tum vero per σοφιστάς intelligebantur ῥήτορες φιλοσοφούντες.” “Imprimis ita nominati sunt, qui artem disserendi tradiderunt, eamque duplicem, vel de capite aliquo doctrinae in scholis (Cic. Fin. II. 1) vel de republica; quod discrimen apertum est ex oratione contra Soph. (p. 429). Οὐ μόνον τούτοις, qui doctrinam omnem amplectuntur, ἀλλὰ καὶ τοῖς τοῖς πολιτικούς λόγους ὑπισχνουμένοις.” Spohn. Isocrates applied this species of eloquence to the discussion of morals and government, and to the illustration of the duties of the citizen as a member of a political community. In this sense, Isocrates himself, as Cicero intimates, was a Sophist. (Orat. c. xi.) “Qualem Isocrates fecit Panegyricum, multique alii, qui sunt nominati Sophistae.” The art of eloquence was sometimes called σοφιστεία.

17, 18. ἐπὶ τοῦτον τὸν λόγον ὤρμησαν, *have rushed to this subject.* G. § 70, 1. “Ὁρμῶν ἐπὶ τι, magno impetu ferri alicujus rei potiundae tamquam egregiae et opportunae.” Bremi. — διοίσειν, G. § 27, n. 3.

Page 4, l. 1. δοκεῖν, G. § 98. — εἰρησθαι, G. § 73, 1; § 18, 3.

2. προκρίνας. The preposition πρό, in composition, suggests comparison and preference. “Τούτους τῶν λόγων κρίνας εἶναι καλλίστους πρὸ τῶν ἄλλων.” Coray.

3. τυγχάνουσιν ὄντες. Τυγχάνειν is often constructed with participles of other verbs, when the idea of chance is to be expressed, however slightly. See Kühner, Gr. Gr., § 310, 1; G. § 112, 2.

8. ὅταν λάβῃ, G. § 62.

9, 10. ἔχοντα πέρασ, *having completion*; i. e. all having been said and written that can be said and written about the subject, so that no other writer can do more or better in the treatment of it. — λελεῖφθαι, G. § 18, 3, note.



11. τὰ μὲν refers to πράγματα; the antithesis is τὰ δ' εἰρημένα, in the next line.

12. φέρηται, G. § 62.

13. φιλοσοφεῖν, *to study, or meditate carefully.*

14. ἦν κατορθωθῆ, G. § 50, 1.

17, 18. μηδαμῶς ἄλλως . . . ἀλλ' ἢ, *no otherwise than.* See Soph. Gr. Gr., § 159, n. 1. For the conditional sentence, see G. § 49, 2.

19. ὡς . . . ἔστι, G. § 32, 3 (a).

20. λέγοντα, *by speaking.* The participle agrees with the understood subject of ἐνοχλεῖν. See Kühner, § 312, Rem. 3.

23, 24. For an explanation of the connective particles, καὶ . . . τε, καὶ . . . καί, see Kühner, § 321, Rem. 1.

26. φευκτέον, G. § 114, 2.

Page 5, l. 2, 3. καταχρήσασθαι, employed here in a good sense, and more emphatically than the simple verb, *to make use of.* G. § 91.

3, 4. ἐνθυμηθῆναι, *to form opinions, to conceive.* τοῖς ὀνόμασιν εὖ διαθέσθαι, *to dispose of well in words.* The two expressions point at the two indispensable qualities of good writing, namely, just and suitable sentiments, and a happy selection of words or aptness of style.

6. λαμβάνειν ἄν, G. § 73, 1; § 41, 1.

7. φιλοσοφίαν. Cicero (De Orat., III. 16) says: "Omnis rerum optimarum cognitio, atque in iis exercitatio, philosophia." Φιλοσοφία περὶ τοὺς λόγους is *the art or study of eloquence*; or rather, perhaps, as Bremi explains, *the theoretical treatment of the art of eloquence.*

10, 11. περὶ ὧν . . . εἴρηκεν, G. § 61, 1.

12. δύναιτο ἄν, G. § 52, 2.

13, 14. τῶν λόγων τοῖς ὑπὲρ τοὺς ἰδιώτας ἔχουσι καὶ λίαν ἀπηκριβωμένοις, *those discourses which are above the common style, and which have been highly finished.* That is, ornate discourses, and not arguments on mere legal questions, or

business affairs, before the courts; = τοῖς μὴ ἰδιωτικῶς ἔχουσιν. Coray.

15-17. ὥστε . . . σκοποῦσιν, so that they examine those which have been excessively elaborated, by comparison with speeches made in suits concerning private business. G. § 65, 3. That is, they judge of finished discourses on subjects of great public concern according to the standard of arguments made in the courts,—mere business and conversational discussions growing out of every-day affairs.—δέον, accusative absolute (= εἰ ἔδει). G. § 110, 2; § 109, 6.

18-21. τοὺς μὲν ἀσφαλῶς (sc. ἔχειν), i. e. business arguments, which should be clearly and strongly put, in such a way as to be *unshaken*, though destitute of ornament.—τοὺς δ' ἐπιδεικτικῶς, and the former, i. e. discourses of public occasions, called demonstrative, or *epideictic*, written according to the principles of art, and exhibiting the eloquence of the author.—ἡ σφᾶς μὲν. For construction of these accusatives, see Soph. Gr. Gr., § 226, a; G. § 110, 2, n. 1.—μετριότητας, the proprieties of discourse.—διορῶντας (= εἰ διώρων), G. § 109, 6; § 52, 1.—ἂν δυνάμενον (= δύναιτο ἄν), G. § 41, 1; § 52, 2.

24. ἐκείνους. The use of the demonstrative before or after the participle with the article is common in Greek, but it is not pleonastic, as is sometimes stated; the demonstrative and the article here have the force of antecedent and relative.

25. δυσχερανοῦντας, who will judge with severity.

Page 6, l. 1. θρασυνάμενος, having made bold, having taken the liberty to say a few words more about myself.

2. Τοὺς μὲν. The antithesis to this is Ἐγὼ δ' (l. 7).

3. καταπραΰνοντας, endeavoring to conciliate. G. § 113.

4. ῥηθήσεσθαι, G. § 25, 2, n. 1.

5. τοὺς μὲν. The correlative is τοὺς δ', some . . . others, the two expressions being partitive, and both in apposition with τοὺς ἄλλους.—ἐξ ὑπογίου, off-hand, extempore.

9, 10. τοῦ . . . διατριφθέντος, *the time spent by us in the composition of this discourse*. Isocrates was employed ten years, or, according to some, fifteen, in the work. See Plutarch's Life. The meaning of this statement is merely, that he kept it by him for that length of time before publishing it, working upon it as he had leisure, and not that he gave himself exclusively to the composition. He was, besides, laboriously occupied with teaching and study.

12, 13. οὐδὲν . . . ὃ τι . . . οὐκ. See Soph. Gr. Gr., § 230, 2.

14. ποιούμαι, G. § 49, 1.

16. [προειρήσθω, *let this have been said (once for all)*. G. § 18, 2.]

17. εὐθὺς ἐπελθόντες. G. § 109, n. 2.

24, 25. συστήσαι ταῦτα, *to put these things in train*; that is, to bring about the proposed union of the Greeks, for the war against Persia. — ὅθεν ἂν δυνηθεῖεν. See Soph. Gr. Gr., § 217, 2; G. § 50, 2.

25, 26. τῶν . . . εἰσίν. The two leading states of Greece were Athens and Sparta; the former at the head of the democratical commonwealths, the latter the protector of the oligarchies.

Page 7, l. 1. ὅστις οἴεται (= εἴ τις οἴεται), G. § 61, 1. — τοὺς ἄλλους, *the others*, i. e. besides the Athenians and Lacedaemonians.

2. τοὺς προεστῶτας, *those who stand at their head*, i. e. the Athenians and Lacedaemonians.

2, 3. [πρὶν ἂν διαλλάξῃ, G. § 67, n. 2. The subjunctive with πρὶν, when no negative precedes, is very rare.]

6. τῶ πόλῃ τούτῳ, *these two states*. Another reading is τὰς πόλεις ταύτας.

8. ἡγεμονίας. The ἡγεμονία was the right of taking the precedence assumed by one among several confederated states. The Athenians had enjoyed the supremacy by sea, and the Lacedaemonians by land.

10. ταύτας, an emphatic use of the demonstrative, referring back to τὰς πλεονεξίας.

12, 13. δυσπείστως ἔχουσι = δύσπειστοί εἰσι, by a very common Greek idiom. — παρειλήφασι, *have received by tradition.*

14–17. [ἦν ἐπιδείξῃ . . . τάχ' ἂν ἔλθοιεν, instead of saying, *if any one shall show them, they will come, &c.*, he says, *if any one shall show them, they would perhaps (under certain circumstances) come.*] G. § 54, 1 (a).

17, 18. Ἐχρῆν . . ἄρχεσθαι. *The others therefore (i. e. who have handled this topic) ought to have started from this point.* G. § 49, 2, n. 3, and Remarks. — πρὶν ἐδίδαξαν, G. § 66, 3; and examples under § 67, 1.

22, 23. προὔργου τι, i. e. πρὸ ἔργου = συμφέρον. Coray says, ἀπὸ μεταφορᾶς τῶν πρὸ ἔργου τινὸς ὀφειλομένων τελείσθαι, ὧν ἄνευ οὐκ ἔστιν ἐπιχειρῆσαι αὐτῷ τῷ ἔργῳ. Therefore προὔργου τι is properly *something before the work*, something that must be done as a previous condition, which being done, the thing in question is advanced to its completion; consequently, something that promotes the object in view, something useful.

Page 8, l. 1. ἀμφισβητεῖ, *disputes*, in the sense of *lays claim to* something that is claimed by another; constructed with the genitive of the object claimed.

2. Τοῦτο μέν has for its correlative Τοῦτο δ' (l. 9).

2, 3. ἐφ' ἐκάστῳ . . . τῶν ἔργων, *in each particular case, or matter; ἔργων, partitive genitive.*

5. ἀπολαβεῖν, *to recover*; that is, to receive back what one has had before, and has lost.

10. μή, hypothetical negative. G. § 47, 3.

13. ἄλλο τι γέρας, *any other privilege.*

17. ὅσῳ γὰρ ἂν σκοπῇ, G. § 61, 3; § 42, 1. — ἀμφοτέρων, *both*, i. e. precedence in point of time, and pre-eminence in services rendered to the Greeks.

18. ἀπολείψομεν τοὺς ἀμφισβητοῦντας, *we shall leave behind us those who dispute our claim.*

20. παρὰ πᾶσιν ἀνθρώποις, *among all mankind, in the whole world.*

21. οὕτω . . . οὔσης. The word ὑπόθεσις is variously explained. 1. *The foundation of the city.* 2. *The subject of discourse.* 3. *The basis or foundation on which the discourse is built.* *With so noble a foundation* (i. e. as the acknowledgment of the antiquity, the greatness, and the fame of Athens), *we have still stronger claims to honor for what is established upon this*; the sense briefly being, *This is an honorable beginning for us*; but our claims to precedence, founded on historical facts subsequent or additional to this, are still more decisive.

25. μεγάδες συλλεγόντες, *collected promiscuously.*

26. ἐξ ἧσπερ ἔφνυμεν, G. § 59.

27. ὥστε διατελούμεν, G. § 65, 3. — αὐτόχθονες, *children of the soil.* This was the peculiar boast of the Athenians. The portion of the Ionic race that settled originally in Attica was less disturbed by changes, revolutions, and migrations than the populations of the other parts of Greece. They could trace their history back into the legendary and mythical times in a more unbroken line than the other Hellenes.

Page 9, l. 2. ἔχοντες. Bremi remarks: "Notandum idem vocabulum tam brevi spatio recurrens; cujusmodi negligentiae in Isocrate raræ sunt, nec tamen omnino nullæ."

5. τοὺς εὐλόγως μέγα φρονοῦντας, *those who pride themselves with good reason.*

6, 7. πατρίων πολλάκις μεμνημένους, *often boasting of their hereditary honors*; a sarcastic allusion to the Lacedaemonians, and their self-glorification upon their supposed descent from the Heraclidae. The implication conveyed in the whole sentence is, that the Lacedaemonians can rest their claims on no such grounds.

14-17. εὐρήσομεν . . . οὔσαν. In this sentence, the

first genitive, τῶν κινδύνων, is dependent on αἰτίαν only by *zeugma*, being properly governed by some word to be mentally supplied. The meaning is, *For we shall find her not only distinguished in endurance of the perils of war, but also the originator of the rest of the civil order, &c.*

“Κατασκευή raro de institutionibus quae fundamentum habent in rerum civilium ordine.” Bremi. ἐν ἧ κατοικοῦμεν καὶ μεθ’ ἧς πολιτευόμεθα καὶ δι’ ἣν ζῆν δυνάμεθα. “Tria hic respiciuntur: primum, quod silvas agrosque relinquentes domicilia constituimus; alterum, quod ex vita agresti ad civilem cultum pervenimus; tertium, quod ingenii mentisque vires excoluimus.” Bremi. — For οὔσαν, see G. § 113.

19–22. διαλαθούσας . . . μνημονευόμενας. “Si ad propriam vocabulorum vim respicimus, primum λεγομένας respondet posteriori κατασιωπηθείσας, et alterum μνημονευόμενας priori διαλαθούσας. Haec est interdum oppositionis ratio etiam apud scriptores antiquissimos, eaque subtilis et elegans.” Bremi.

25. εἰ γέγονεν, G. § 49, 1.

26, 27. ἀφικομένης, ἀρπασθείσης, G. § 110, 1; § 109, 1.

Page 10, l. 2, 3. τοῖς μεμνημένοις, *the initiated*, i. e. in the Eleusinian mysteries, celebrated in honor of Demeter and Persephone. On account of their pre-eminent importance they are frequently spoken of as *the* mysteries. Their origin is to be traced back, as Isocrates intimates, to the mythical times, — being attributed by some to Eumolpus, and by others to Erechtheus. The tradition adopted by Isocrates is that which assigns their foundation to Demeter herself, who, while wandering in search of her daughter, Persephone, came to Attica, and, being kindly received, rewarded the people by giving them the fruits of the earth, and the sacred rites, which were regarded as the holiest institutions of the Hellenic religion.

Whatever was the origin of these mysteries, they were



celebrated in the historical times with extraordinary devotion. Initiation was eagerly sought by educated persons all over Greece; for, before the time of Herodotus, all except the Barbarians were admitted to the privilege. There were two celebrations annually;— the Lesser Mysteries, held at Agræ, on the Ilissus, in the month Anthesterion, and designed as a preparation for the Greater; the latter celebrated during a period of nine days, from the fifteenth to the twenty-third of the third Attic month, Boedromion, corresponding to the last half of September and the first of October. Each day had its peculiar ceremonies. The city of Athens was crowded with visitors from every part of the Grecian world. There was the procession to the sea-coast for purification; fasting and sacrifice; the sacred procession with the basket of pomegranates and poppy-seeds, borne on a wagon drawn by oxen, and followed by women with mystic cases in their hands; the torch procession to the temple of Demeter in Eleusis, led by the *δαδούχος*; the carrying of the statue of Iacchus, the son of Demeter, along the sacred road from the Cerameicus to Eleusis, with an immense number of followers and spectators, amidst songs and shouts of joy. In the night, between the sixth and seventh day, the candidates were initiated into the last mysteries, repeated the oath of secrecy, were purified anew, were conducted into the lighted sanctuary (*φωταγωγία*), where they beheld what none else were ever permitted to see. On the seventh day, the initiated returned to Athens, indulging in raillery and saturnalian jests, especially as they crossed the bridge of the Cephissus. Other but less important rites filled up the remaining days. Games and contests also gave variety to the scene.

But little is known of the secret doctrines taught there. Whatever they might have been, the ancients regarded them with reverence and awe. Thirlwall says: "They

were the remains of a worship which preceded the rise of the Hellenic mythology and its attendant rites, grounded on a view of nature less fanciful, more earnest, and better fitted to awaken both philosophical thought and religious feeling." This view is apparently sustained by the glimpses of religious doctrine given us by Isocrates, in the words, ἡσ οἱ μετασχόντες περί τε τῆς τοῦ βίου τελευτῆς καὶ τοῦ σύμπαντος αἰῶνος ἡδίουσ τὰς ἐλπίδας ἔχουσιν. In illustration of which, see Cicero de Legg. 11. 14: "Nam mihi cum multa eximia divinaque videantur Athenae tuae peperisse, atque in vita hominum attulisse, tum nihil melius illis mysteriis, quibus ex agresti immanique vita exculti ad humanitatem et mitigati sumus; initiaque ut appellantur, ita revera principia vitae cognovimus, neque solum cum laetitia vivendi rationem accepimus, sed etiam cum spe meliore moriendi." The fact, that the immortality of the soul was taught to the initiated, is clearly pointed out by many ancient writers. Among the number, Plato, Phaedo, p. 69, C.: "ὁ δὲ κεκαθαρμένος τε καὶ τετελεσμένος ἐκέισε ἀφικόμενος μετὰ θεῶν οἰκῆσει."

4, 5. τοῦ μὴ ζῆν, G. § 95, 1; § 92, 1, N. 2 (end).

11. τὰ μέν, i. e. *the mysteries*.

12. τῶν δέ, *the productions of the earth*, in acknowledgment of which the first fruits were sent every year to Athens.

14. ἐδίδαξεν, subject, ἡ πόλις ἡμῶν.

15. προστεθέντων, G. § 109, 6; § 52, 1.

18. ὡς ἀρχαίων ὄντων, *on the ground that they are antiquated*. G. § 109, N. 4; § 110, 1, N. 1.

20, 21. διὰ τὸ . . . ἀκηκοέναι, G. § 18, 3.

23, 24. τὸν λόγον καὶ τὴν φήμην. "Ὁ λόγος narratio, quatenus hominum sermone et testimonio nititur; ἡ φήμη quatenus propria narrationis origo parum cognita est, sed illa divino quasi numine propagata est." Bremi. — παρειλήφμεν, *we have received* by tradition.

25. σημεῖοις μείζουσιν, *weightier arguments*.

Page 11, l. 2. ταῖς δ' ἐκλειπούσαις. "Quod Morus conjicit, ἐκλειπούσαις, primo aspectu et propter aoristum προσέταξεν et quod de re facta sermo est, aptior videtur. Sed subtilis est et vera Coraëi animadversio, propter πολλάκις praesens positum esse, quum res saepius facta notetur. Nempe aoristus participii et modi obliqui una de re nec adjecto adverbio, quod repetitionis notionem habet, ponitur." Bremi. The principle involved here is, that the aorist of the participle and the oblique modes is used to denote a single act, but the present to denote habitual or repeated action.

[The distinction of *time* between the present and aorist participles, which is quite as marked as in the indicative, is overlooked by Bremi in his note. The present participle refers to a continued or repeated action, *present* with reference to the time of the leading verb, while the aorist refers to a single or momentary action, *past* with reference to that time. On this principle ἐκλειπούσαις is perfectly correct here: the meaning is, *the Pythia often commanded those states which from time to time failed in their duty*. The aorist would have meant, *those who* (on some one former occasion) *had failed*.]

3. τὰ μέρη τῶν καρπῶν, *the portions of the fruits*; i. e. the established or customary portion. According to Coray, the orator alludes to the sacrifice of the προηροσία, at the beginning of the ploughing season, which the Athenians offered for all the Greeks. A famine having spread all over the land, the oracle at Delphi was consulted as to the means of averting it. The response directed that the Athenians should sacrifice the προηροσία in behalf of the Greeks. When this was done, the calamity ceased; and by way of showing their gratitude, the cities sent to the Athenians yearly the firstlings of all their fruits.

7. συνδοκεῖ, *acquiesce*. — καὶ . . . τε. The first conjunction connects the remainder of the sentence with what pre-

cedes; *τε* is correlative with *καί* in the following clause, the two connecting the subordinate clauses.

11. *τὸν βίον*, *the life of man*; the condition of human life.

13, 14. *συνεπορίσαντο*, *furnished themselves by united efforts*.

15, 16. *ἢ ζητοῦντας αὐτοὺς ἐντυχεῖν*, *or to have found it themselves by searching*. G. § 109, 2; § 23, 2. With *λαβεῖν* supply *τὸν βίον*; with *ἐντυχεῖν*, *αὐτῶ*, referring to the same, i. e. the conveniences and refinements of life. For the construction of two verbs governing different cases, one case only being expressed, see Matt., Gr. Gr., § 428, 2.

16, 17. *ὁμολογουμένους . . . γενομένους*. With *ὁμολογεῖσθαι*, and some other words, the participle is constructed instead of the infinitive; here, = *γενέσθαι*, *those who are admitted by all to have been*. G. § 113; § 73, 2. [On the same principle, *ὄντας* and *διακειμένους* = *εἶναι* and *διακείσθαι*.] — *καὶ . . . τε*, see above (line 7).

17, 18. *εὐφροσύνου*, *best endowed by nature*; having the finest natural genius.

18. *τὰ τῶν θεῶν*. “Omnem deorum cultum amplissimo sensu complecti potest, quicquid homines praestare diis operat. Possit etiam esse simplex periphrasis pro *οἱ θεοί*. Praefero prius.” Bremi. The devotion of the Athenians to the worship of the gods was one of their well-known characteristics. St. Paul’s happy allusion to it in his discourse on the Areopagus will occur to every one.

22, 23. *τοῖς πεπραγμένοις*, *the things that have been done*, the facts. “Ipsis beneficiis, quae sunt in facto posita.” Morus.

26. *Περὶ δέ*. For the complete illustration of this part of the eulogy on Athens, see the Funeral Oration of Pericles, Thucyd. II. 35, seqq.

27. *τῆς χῶρας*. “Intelligitur regionis ambitus, quam complectebatur Isocratis tempore Ἑλλάς, Graecia.” Bremi.

“Ejus terrae, quam nos incolimus, quae ab Attica et Boeotia (nam hae duae partes vetustissimis temporibus Graecia supra Isthmum fuisse videntur, id quod de Athenis constat, de Thebis intelligitur, c. 15) usque ad Macedoniam pertinuit, et postea Ἑλλάδος nomen habuit. . . . Etiam barbaros intelligimus eos qui tum finitimi Atticae et Boeotiae fuerant, communique nomine Thraces et Scythae dicti videntur, quorum nomina vaga significatio; utrique tamen imperium Europae habuerunt. . . . Hos Thraces coegerunt Athenienses recedere versus Septentrionem, et Graeciae fines promoverunt; nam inter Thraces et Atticam Boeotiamque orta est Thessalia, Epirus, Macedonia.” Mor.

Page 12, l. 1–6. For κατέχοντας and the other participles after ὄρωσα, see G. § 113; § 73, 2. Notice the change of tense. — σφίσιw αὐτοῖς, *one another*, = ἀλλήλοις. See Soph., Gr. Gr., § 161, N. 3. For a description of the state of things here alluded to, see Thucyd., beginning of Lib. I.

10. ἐφ’ ἐκατέρας τῆς ἡπείρου. “In utraque terrae parte, Europa scilicet et Asia. Antiquos enim terram in duas tantum partes divisisse constat, eam quam norant Africae partem modo Europae modo Asiae tribuentes. Cf. Ukert, Geographie der Griechen und Römer, 1 Theiles 2te Abth., p. 280, seqq.” Breimi.

15. περιβάλλοντο τὸν τόπον, *occupied the region*.

16–18. ὅσπε . . . ἐποίησαν. [ὅσπε, constructed with the infinitive, expresses simply the result, real or aimed at; with the indicative, as here, it states the result more prominently as an actual fact. Still it is often indifferent which of the two is used.] See G. § 65, 3. — ἀποικίσαι, *to colonize*.

19, 20. οὐ . . . διακινδυνεύειν, *for it was not necessary for them continually to incur hazard in acquiring territory*. G. § 49, 2, N. 2, Rem. 3. — “τὴν ὑφ’ ἡμῶν ἀφορισθεῖσαν, quae finibus nostra opera constitutis, a barbarorum regnis divisa et Graeca facta est.” Morus. — ταύτην, demonstrative pronoun, emphatic repetition.

23. πρὶν οἰκισθῆναι, G. § 106.

24–26. τῆς . . . προαγαγούσης, *than that which caused the barbarians to be expelled from their seats, and advanced the Greeks to so great prosperity.*

Page 13, l. 2. εὐρεῖν. In apposition with ἀρχὴν ταύτην, in the preceding line.

3, 4. ἤνπερ χρὴ (i. e. εὐρεῖν) . . . διοικήσειν, *which it is necessary that those who would make suitable provision in other matters should find, or secure.*

4, 5. τὸν ἐπὶ τούτοις μόνον, *life with these alone; i. e. the bare necessities of life.* — τοῦ ἐπιθυμεῖν, G. § 95, 1. — ἔχειν represents ἔχει of the direct discourse; G. § 15, 2.

7. ὅσα μὴ ἔχομεν, G. § 61, 1. [Μὴ is used because the antecedent of ὅσα is indefinite. G. § 58, 3.]

10. Παραλαβοῦσα γάρ, *For having received, or rather, in this place, having found.*

12. ὑπὸ . . . ὑβριζομένους, *oppressed by despotisms.*

14, 15. τῶν . . . ποιήσασα, *by becoming mistress of the one, and by making herself an example to the others.*

15, 16. νόμους ἔθετο. The individual who proposes a law is said νόμον θεῖναι; the political authority which enacts it, νόμον θέσθαι. — πολιτείαν κατεστήσατο, *established a constitutional government.*

18, 19. βουλευθέντες . . . ἀλλήλους, *wishing to settle their differences with one another by reason, and not by violence.* “Notanda haec oppositio λόγου καὶ βίας, quam Latini faciunt per orationem et vim.” Br. — ἐν τοῖς νόμοις. “Praepositio hic notionem verbi habet, v. c. ἐμμένοντες χρώμενοι, et adjunctam notionem sedulitatis et assiduitatis.” Br.

20. κρίσις is the general term for *trial*, in a legal sense; κρίνειν, *to bring to trial.*

21–23. τὰς τε . . . μεμηχανημένας, *those that are useful for the necessities of life, and those which have been invented for pleasure; i. e. the useful and the ornamental arts.*

25. διοίκησιν. Here, *the constitution of civil society.*



Elsewhere, *administration* ; sometimes, *treasury department*.

25, 26. πρὸς ἅπαντας οἰκείως, *liberally towards all*.  
 “Quasi in proprium usum, ut quisque inveniret quae in suam rem cederent.” Br.

27. ἀπολαύσαι . . . ἐπιθυμοῦσιν, *desirous to enjoy their property*.

Page 14, l. 4. ἡδίστας διαρπιδάς, *most agreeable pastimes*, or resources to make their residence pleasant.

5. αὐτάρκη, *self-sufficing* ; i. e. producing all that is needed. The honor claimed for Athens here is, that, by establishing a great commercial centre, she enabled the different parts of Greece to interchange their commodities, and thus to supply their own and each other's deficiencies in a manner equally advantageous to both. This mart or emporium was the Peiraeus, which, though not geographically in the midst of Greece, as Isocrates rhetorically describes it, was yet conveniently situated and easy of access for commercial purposes. Strabo has given a minute description of this port. Leake (*Topography of Athens*, p. 300) says: “The security of the Athenian harbors, whose different capacities were so well suited to the several stages of the naval power of Athens, conspired, with the peninsular form of the province, with its position relatively to the surrounding coasts of Greece and Asia. with the richness of the Attic silver-mines, and even with the general poverty of the Attic soil, to produce a combination of circumstances the best adapted to encourage the development of commercial industry, and of nautical skill and enterprise.” See also Cramer's *Ancient Greece*, Vol. II. pp. 348, 353. Thucydides (II. 38), speaking of Athens, says: ἐπεισέρχεται δὲ διὰ μέγεθος τῆς πόλεως ἐκ πάσης γῆς τὰ πάντα.

13, 14. πορίσασθαι, *to furnish one's self with, to procure*.

15. πανηγύρεις, *festal assemblies*, like the Olympian, Pyth-

ian, Nemean, and Isthmian. See note, pp. 63, 64. The following sentences briefly describe the advantages of these festivals, which brought together in friendly relations so many persons belonging to the different Greek races, arresting for the time, at least, existing hostilities, uniting men in common sacrifices, giving opportunities to renew old friendships and to form new ones, and affording useful and entertaining occupation both for those who came simply as spectators and for those who had trained themselves for the games.

16. ὅτι παρέδωσαν. G. § 81, 1.

24, 25. τοῖς ἰδιώταις, *the private persons*; i. e. those who were not candidates for any of the public honors in the games. — τοῖς διενεγκοῦσι τὴν φύσιν, *those who excel in natural endowments*. — ἀργόν, literally *idle*; here, *useless, or without advantage*.

27. τὰς αὐτῶν εὐτυχίας, *their own talents*. Wieland. “Sunt virtutes quas quis faultricem ad eas naturam adeptus, levi opera sibi acquisivit, quas vero, si maleficiam nactus esset naturam, acquirere sibi nunquam potuisset.” Br. “Bona animi, corporis, rerum externarum, quorum omnium documenta dantur in illis conventibus, ut animi, recitando; corporis, pugnando; divitiarum, χορηγία ἵπποτροφία, et omnino λειτουργίας.” Morus.

Page 15, l. 3. ἐφ’ οἷς φιλοτιμηθῶσιν, *those things upon which they may pride themselves*. G. § 65, 1, n. 3.

[The subjunctive and optative are very rare in this construction in Attic Greek, the future indicative being the only regular form. In Homer, however, the subjunctive and optative are commonly used, this older construction corresponding precisely with the Latin, as the relation of the two languages would lead us to expect. Another (doubtful) Attic example of the subjunctive may be found in Thuc. VII. 25, πρέσβεις ἄγουσα, οἵπερ φράσωσιν, καὶ . . . ἐποτρύνωσιν. Krüger, in his note on this passage of Thucydides (2d edit.,

1861), is very severe on those who retain *ὄπερ* with the subjunctive, for which he substitutes *ὅπως* on the authority of a single MS. He explains *φιλοτιμηθῶσι* in the present passage of Isocrates as a subjunctive in an (indirect) dubitative question. The following examples of the aorist optative, however, show at least that the older construction was not unknown to the Attic poets: — *ἄνδρα δ' οὐδέν' ἔντοπον, οὐδ' ὅστις ἀρκέσειεν οὐδ' ὅστις . . . συλλάβοιτο*, Soph. Phil. 280; — *γόνιμον δὲ ποιητὴν ἂν οὐχ εὖροις ἔτι ζητῶν ἂν, ὅστις ῥῆμα γενναῖον λάκοι*, Aristoph. Ran. 96. In vs. 98 of the *Frogs* we find the regular Attic construction, *ὅστις φθέγγεται*, referring to precisely the same thing as *ὅστις λάκοι* above. Both these examples of the optative must be explained as relative sentences, and the subjunctive is certainly not more objectionable than the optative. Nor can the present example from Isocrates be explained as interrogative without great violence to the sense; the idea is not, *that they may know what they are to glory in*; but, *that they may have things in which they may glory*. See also, *ἕφ' οὐ πεισθέντες πρίοισθε*, Dem. Phil. II. § 8. See additional note, p. 135.]

3, 4. *ὅταν . . . ἐνθυμηθῶσι*, G. § 61, 3.

5. *τὴν σφετέραν θεωρίαν*. The *θεωρία*, in its special sense, was the public deputation sent by the several states to represent them at these assemblies. It consisted of the most distinguished citizens, and was equipped with splendor and at great expense. Demosthenes once served as *ἀρχιθέωρος*, or chief of the deputation from Athens to the Isthmian games. In its broader sense, *θεωρία* signifies the whole exhibition of the festival.

8-14. The number of festivals held at Athens made it the most brilliant capital of antiquity. These were partly under the management of the state, and partly furnished at the cost of wealthy or public-spirited individuals. They were celebrated by processions, choruses, musical contests, gymnastic games, and every other imaginable exhibition

that could call into exercise the creative genius of the Athenian people, and draw together crowds of people from the whole civilized world. The most interesting of these were the Eleusinian Mysteries, the Panathenaea, and the Dionysiac festivals, the last immortalized by having given occasion to the production of the Athenian dramatic literature. But there was scarcely a month in the year which was not marked by the cessation of business and the occurrence of some entertainment, embellished by the display of feats of bodily strength, or by the beautiful productions of genius and art. See *Clouds* of Aristophanes, 299 – 313. — ἐν τῷ πλησιάζειν ἀλλήλοις, *in holding intercourse with each other.* — εἴ τι . . . ἐστι, G. § 49, 1.

18. ῥώμης . . . γνώμης. “In oppositione ῥώμης καὶ γνώμης, soni similitudinem spectat Isocrates, quam figuram perditte amat.” Br.

22, 23. ὥστε . . . ἀγαπᾶσθαι. “Ὅτι . . . πολὺ τὸ σεμνὸν αἱ Ἀθηναὶ πάλαι ποτὲ εἶχον, δηλοῖ καὶ ὁ εἰπὼν τὰς Ἀθήνας, Ἑλλάδος Μουσεῖον. Ἐτι δὲ καὶ ὁ Πίνδαρος, Ἑλλάδος αὐτὰς ἔρρισμα καλέσας, καὶ Θουκυδίδης Ἑλλάδος Ἑλλάδα.” Eustathius, — cited by Bremi, who points out the verbal mistake of attributing precisely this expression to Thucydides. He, however, does represent Pericles as saying, λέγω τὴν πᾶσαν πόλιν τῆς Ἑλλάδος παιδεύειν εἶναι. II. 41. Some of the touches in Milton’s magnificent description of Athens were probably suggested by these paragraphs of Isocrates. I insert the lines in this place:—

“Look once more, ere we leave this specular mount,  
Westward, much nearer by southwest, behold  
Where on the Aegean shore a city stands,  
Built nobly, pure the air, and light the soil;  
Athens, the eye of Greece, mother of arts  
And eloquence, native to famous wits,  
Or hospitable, in her sweet recess,  
City or suburban, studious walks and shades.  
See there the olive-grove of Academe,

Plato's retirement, where the Attic bird  
 Trills her thick-warbled notes the summer long ;  
 There flowery hill Hymettus with the sound  
 Of bees' industrious murmur oft invites  
 To studious musing ; there Ilissus rolls  
 His whispering stream. Within the walls then view  
 The schools of ancient sages ; his who bred  
 Great Alexander to subdue the world,  
 Lyceum there, and painted Stoa next.  
 There shalt thou hear and learn the secret power  
 Of harmony, in tones and numbers hit  
 By voice or hand ; and various-measured verse,  
 Aeolian charms and Dorian lyric odes,  
 And his who gave them breath, but higher sung,  
 Blind Melesigenes, thence Homer called,  
 Whose poem Phoebus challenged for his own :  
 Thence what the lofty grave tragedians taught  
 In Chorus or Iambic, teachers best  
 Of moral prudence, with delight received,  
 In brief sententious precepts, while they treat  
 Of fate, and chance, and change in human life ;  
 High actions and high passions best describing.  
 Thence to the famous orators repair,  
 Those ancient, whose resistless eloquence  
 Wielded at will that fierce democracy,  
 Shook the arsenal, and fulminated over Greece,  
 To Macedon, and Artaxerxes' throne.  
 To sage philosophy next lend thine ear,  
 From heaven descended to the low-roofed house  
 Of Socrates ; see there his tenement,  
 Whom well inspired the oracle pronounced  
 Wisest of men ; from whose mouth issued forth  
 Mellifluous streams that watered all the schools  
 Of Academics old and new, with those  
 Surnamed Peripatetics, and the sect  
 Epicurean, and the Stoic severe."

*Paradise Regained*, Book IV. l. 236 - 280.

24, 25. *διὰ πολλοῦ χρόνον*, at long intervals. — *ταχέως διελύθησαν*, are soon dissolved. This is the frequentative or gnomic aorist, or that particular usage by which a single instance of an action is put for the general fact, G. § 30, 1.

See Hadley's Gr. 707. Most of the panegyric assemblies lasted but a few days. They met at intervals of two or four years. See *ante*, p. 63.

27. Φιλοσοφίαν. "Qualem Cicero descripsit, Tusc. V. 2." Mor. A part of the passage referred to is the following: "O vitæ philosophia dux! O virtutis indagatrix, expultrixque vitiorum! Quid sed omnino vita hominum sine te esse potuisset? Tu urbes peperisti; tu dissipatos homines in societatem vitæ convocasti; tu eos inter se primo domiciliis, deinde conjugiiis, tum literarum et vocum communiōne junxisti; tu inventrix legum; tu magistra morum et disciplinae fuisti." — συνεξεύρε, *assisted in finding out*. "In inveniēdo excolēdoque adjuvit ingenium." Mor.

Page 16, l. 3, 4. τὰς τε . . . διείλε, *has distinguished between those which happen through ignorance and those which spring from necessity*. The genitive τῶν συμφορῶν depends on the partitive expressions τὰς τε, καὶ τὰς, each being a part of the whole.

6. λόγους, *words*; i. e. arguments, or the power of discussing moral and intellectual subjects.

9, 10. πλεονεκτήσαντες . . . διηγάμεν. The force of the aorist participle, and the aorist of the verb, thus connected, is, *having gained an advantage in this, we have gained the superiority in all other things*; the latter expressing a result of the state of things described by the former.

11. τὰς τύχας, *the fortunes*; i. e. of the human race, of men. — οὔσας, G. § 113; § 73, 2. [The other participles depending on ὀρώσα — μετόν, ὄντας, διαφέροντας, γινωσκομένους, γιγνομένους, ἀποδεδειγμένον, δυναμένους, ὄντας — are in the same construction, resembling that of the infinitive. Each tense of the participle represents the same tense of the indicative in the direct discourse. In the single case of μετόν the neuter singular is used, because it represents an *impersonal* verb; the construction in the direct discourse would have been τῶν λόγων οὐ μέτεστι τοῖς φαύλοις. See G. § 113, n. 3,



and the example there quoted from Demosth. in Eubul. p. 1299, 4: *πειράσομαι δεῖξαι καὶ μετὸν τῆς πόλεως ἡμῖν καὶ πεπονθότα ἑμαυτὸν οὐχὶ προσήκοντα*, — the direct discourse being *μέτεστι τῆς πόλεως ἡμῖν, καὶ πέπονθα αὐτός, &c.*]

14. *μετόν* takes the genitive of the thing shared (*λογῶν τῶν καλῶς καὶ τεχνικῶς ἐχόντων*), and the dative of the person sharing (*τοῖς φαύλοις*).

15. *ῥντας* agrees with *λόγους*, to be supplied from the connection.

17, 18. *τοὺς . . . τεθραμμένους*, *those who have been liberally educated from their earliest years*.

20, 21. *γιγνωσκομένους . . . γιγνομένους*, &c. The present of the participle is used here to designate what ordinarily takes place; in the indicative, the aorist is often so used.

22. *ἀποδεδειγμένον*. The perfect is here used to designate what is established and fixed, what has been settled as a general truth.

26. 27. *περὶ τὸ φρονεῖν καὶ λέγειν*, *with respect to reasoning and speaking*; or the understanding and eloquence.

Page 17, l. 1. *γεγόνασι*, G. § 17, n. 3.

4. *καλεῖσθαι*. The subject of this infinitive is *τοὺς τῆς παιδείσεως . . . μετέχοντας*, and *Ἕλληνας* is in the predicate.

8. *ἀπορῶν*. The participle here may be rendered *because I am at a loss*. G. § 109, 4.

9. *εἰρήσθω*. G. § 18, 2. See note on p. 6, l. 16. <sup>4</sup>

11. *τῶν κινδύνων*, *the perils* which they incurred.

16. *τὸν χρόνον*, *the time*; i. e. of their existence.

17, 18. *τοῖς ἀδικουμένοις αἰεί*, *those who were wronged for the time being*, whoever they might be. Present participle expressing the repeated action or condition.

18, 19. *Διὸ δὴ καὶ*, *Now for this very reason they even*. — *ὡς βουλευομένων*, G. § 109, n. 4.

21, 22. *ὥσπερ . . . τοιούτους*, *as if such words were not on the side of those who are desirous of praising us*. Con-

struction accusative absolute. For this particular construction of the accusative absolute, see Kühner, § 312, 6, d; and G. § 110, 2, n. 1. See note on p. 5, l. 17.

26. τὰ συμβαίνοντ'. The *present participle*, to describe what usually happens.

Page 18, l. 1, 2. τοῖς κρείττοσι . . . συναδικεῖν, to join the more powerful in doing wrong, in committing injustice. — τοῦ λυσιτελοῦντος ἔνεκα, for the sake of profit.

3. γνοίη ἄν, G. § 52, 2.

9. Ἡρακλέους παῖδες. In his survey of the claims to be asserted by Athens for the precedence, Isocrates goes back to the mythical ages before the Trojan war. The legend of Heracles, or Hercules, is placed, in the assumed chronology, at about the year 1300 B. C. By a fraud of Hera upon Zeus, Heracles was subjected to the commands of Eurystheus. After his death, his children were driven from the Peloponnesus. They fled first to Ceÿx, king of Trachiniae; thence to Athens, where Theseus received them kindly and gave them aid against Eurystheus. Eurystheus was killed in battle by Hyllus, son of Heracles. Parts of this legend are embodied in the *Heracleidae* of Euripides.

10. Ἄδραστος ὁ Ταλαοῦ. The legend of Adrastus, the son of Talau, connects itself with the legends of the Theban line of sovereigns, — the house of Labdacus, Laius, and Oedipus. The principal names in the mythical times of Thebes are Cadmus, B. C. 1500; Polydorus, 1400; Labdacus and Laius, between 1400 and 1300. Oedipus was the fated son of Laius, whose history is so well known from the *Oedipus Tyrannus* of Sophocles. His "self-detected crimes" banished him from Thebes to the sacred ground of the Eumenides in Colonus, near Athens. His children by the ill-fated Jocasta, "by a twofold title, his mother and wife," were Eteocles and Polyneices, with their sisters Antigone and Ismene. The brothers were to reign by alternate years; but Eteocles refused, at the end of his year, to

resign the throne to his brother. This occasioned the first war of Thebes. Polyneices fled to Argos, and married the daughter of the Argive king, Adrastus. The alliance of "The Seven Chiefs" was formed, including Adrastus, Tydeus, Polyneices, Capaneus, Amphiaraus, Hippomedon, and Parthenopacus. They invaded Thebes; a battle was fought under the walls, and all the chiefs were slain except Adrastus. The two brothers, Eteocles and Polyneices, fell by each other's hands. The Thebans refused to surrender the dead. Adrastus fled to Athens, and received the succor of the Athenians. From these legends the tragic poets drew the subjects of many of their pieces. Among those still preserved, the Seven against Thebes of Aeschylus, the Oedipus Tyrannus, Oedipus Coloneus, and Antigone of Sophocles, and the Phoenissae and Suppliants of Euripides, are founded upon the story of the Theban line.

13. ἀνελέσθαι, *to take up, or recover, for burial.* The sacred duty of burying the dead was laid upon the survivors by the most solemn sanctions of the Hellenic religion. The neglect of this duty was an offence against the most binding laws; to hinder its performance drew down upon the perverse and guilty man the direst vengeance of the gods.

15, 16. γιγνομένους, καταλυόμενον, G. § 112, 1. See note on p. 16, l. 11.

18, 19. ὡς οὐκ ἂν δυναμένας. [*δυναμένας ἂν* here represents *δύναιτο ἂν.*] G. § 41, 1. For ὡς with the causal participle, see G. § 109, n. 4.

23, 24. ἡγεμονικῶς εἶχε, *was fit to rule.* "Par imperio fuit." Mor.

25. τοὺς ὑφ' ἑτέροις, *those under the control of others.*

26. ἄλλως τε καί, *quum aliter tum, not only in other respects, but also.* Kühner, Gr. Gr., § 321 (a).

Page 19, l. 4, 5. μὲν . . . . δέ, *both . . . . and.* The same co-ordination is effected in lines 7 and 9 by the same particles.

8. θάψαι, G. § 97, n. 1.

10. μαχόμενοι, *in battle*. Participial construction.

13. Οὐ . . . ἐποίησαν, *They did not do it wanting a little*; i. e. they did not fall short a little of doing it. Coray explains *παρὰ μικρόν τι ποιεῖν* as *μικρόν δεῖν ποιεῖν τι*; i. e. *to want but little of doing a thing*, to come near doing a thing without actually accomplishing it. Translate the whole phrase, *They did not fail to do it*.

18. *ικέτης ἠναγκάσθη καταστῆναι*, *was compelled to take the position of a suppliant*.

20, 21. *τούτω* depends on *ἐπιτάττων*, though *λυμαινόμενος* may also be constructed with the dative, as well as with the accusative. For the participles with *διετέλεσεν*, see G. § 112, 2.

23. *ἐπὶ τοῖς παισὶ τοῖς ἐκείνου*, *in the power of his children*.

25, 26. *Πολλῶν . . . Λακεδαιμονίων*. Literally, *There existing many services to us, towards the city of the Lacedaemonians*; i. e. Many services having been rendered by us to the Lacedaemonians.

Page 20, l. 3. *κατήλθον*. According to the legends, the Heracleidae had not long repossessed themselves of their hereditary abodes, when they were again driven into exile in consequence of a pestilence, which was supposed to indicate the anger of Heaven. Once more they took refuge in Attica. Their second restoration appears in history as the "Return of the Heracleidae," which represents the invasion of the Peloponnesus by the Dorians, and the establishment of Dorian reigning families in the principal Peloponnesian cities, as Argos, Sparta, Messene. The double royal line at Sparta, the Eurysthenidae and Proclidae, claimed to be descended from Hercules through these Heracleid or Dorian leaders. Their direct ancestors were Eurysthenes and Procles. See Grote's History of Greece, Vol. II.; Müller's Dorians, Vol. I.

7. *ἐχρῆν μηδέποτ' εἰσβαλεῖν, μηδὲ . . . ἀξιούν*, G. § 49, 2,

n. 3. A protasis is understood, implying an unfulfilled condition. G. § 52, 2.

15. ἀνελόντας, *having set aside, or put out of the question.*

16, 17. οὐ δὴ που . . . ἐστίν, *it is not assuredly.*

23. διατελοῦσαι (sc. οὔσαι), G. § 112, 2.

23 – Page 21, l. 3. φαίνονται . . . διασώσαντες. This sentence, though clear in meaning, is of doubtful construction. In some editions, this and the following sentence are joined into one. See the note of Spohn upon the passage. Wolf's explanation is: “ὥστε ἐπιτάττοντες, ἀντὶ τοῦ ἐπέταξαν. Videtur numeros spectasse potius quam constructionem.” The construction is therefore an *anacoluthon*, or rather a species of attraction. Says Baiter: “Quae pendere debebant ex participio τοσοῦτον διενεγκόντες ὥστε referuntur ad verbum primarium φαίνονται.” Perhaps we may construct all the participles with some verb easily to be inferred from φαίνονται, or even with φαίνονται itself repeated, so that the clauses which follow ὥστε contain the particulars included in the general expression, τοσοῦτον ἀπάντων διενεγκόντες.

3. Ὡστε. “Verba ὥστε . . . δυνηθείη totam argumentationem claudunt, recteque a proxime antecedentibus majori interpunctione sejunguntur.” Baiter.

6 – 8. τῶν . . . πεπραγμένων. This construction, in speaking of what has been done by one party in either friendly or hostile intercourse with another, the dative of the former, and the accusative with the preposition εἰς or πρὸς of the latter, is very common in the orators. — ἄλλως τ' ἐπειδὴ καί. Coray edits, ἄλλως τε καὶ ἐπειδὴ. The distinction, pointed out by Hermann (ad Viger. p. 780), is, that in the formula ἄλλως τε καί “ad ea spectat ἄλλως quae praeferimus, καί autem ad illud quod ut momentum praeferendi hoc ipso loco et tempore ponimus. . . . In ἄλλως τε illud quod praecipuum est per ἄλλως significatur.” Translate here, *for other reasons, and especially because; ἐπειδὴ καί, in this formula, introducing the principal ground for the selection of this topic.*

9. [*ἐξαριθμῶν* is equivalent to *εἰ* with the present optative, and forms the protasis to *λίαν ἂν μακρολογοίην*. G. § 52, 1; § 109, 6.]

12 - 16. *Ἔστι . . . διακινδυνεύσασα*. In this sentence and the following paragraph the orator reverts to incidents partly legendary, and partly, perhaps, historical. The story of the Thracian invasion, under the leader Eumolpus, is placed in the time of Erechtheus; that of the Scythians, in the time of Theseus. Eumolpus was fabled to be the son of Poseidon and Chione. He was thrown into the sea and borne to Aethiopia, and thence returned to Thrace. In consequence of a conspiracy in which he was involved, he fled to Attica, where he was initiated in the Eleusinian Mysteries, and made an Hierophant. He afterwards engaged in a war with Erechtheus, called the Eleusinian war. Both were slain, but the priesthood remained hereditary in the Eumolpid family, and was held by them nearly twelve hundred years.

The legend of the Amazons was one of the most widely diffused of all the fabulous traditions of the Greeks. They were the daughters of Ares and Harmonia, and appear in poetry and fiction as a nation or race of warrior women, as early as the *Iliad*. The name of one Amazonian queen was Penthesilea. The Argonauts found them on the Thermodon, where Hercules attacked them. They invaded Attica in the time of Theseus, and were defeated. The place of the battle was pointed out near the Pnyx. This legend was deeply inwrought in the national traditions, and was a favorite subject of Hellenic art. The existence of such a nation was believed in by many of the ablest men among the ancients, as Herodotus, Lysias, Plato, Isocrates. Even the historians of Alexander the Great pretended, that, in his campaigns in the East, he was visited by Thalestris, the queen of the Amazons at that time. The existence of the Amazons was an article of popular belief down to the Ro-



man times. Suetonius states it as the opinion of Julius Cæsar, that they had once held possession of the greater part of Asia. In the triumph of Aurelian, after the defeat of Zenobia, queen of Palmyra, some Gothic women were proclaimed in the procession as Amazons. See Smith's Dict. of Gr. and Rom. Antiq., Art. Amazons.

The Scythians, Thracians, and Persians were described as among the most powerful ancient nations. Herodotus (V. 3) says: *Θρηίκιον δὲ ἔθνος μέγιστόν ἐστι, μετὰ γε Ἰνδούς, πάντων ἀνθρώπων, The nation of the Thracians is the greatest of the whole human race, next to the Indi*; to which he adds, that, if they were governed by one man, they would be invincible. Pausanias (I. 9, § 6) says that the Thracians are more numerous than any other race, except the Kelts. Thucydides (II. 97) describes the Thracian empire as opulent and powerful. In Xenophon's Memorabilia (II. 1. 10), Socrates is represented as saying that the Scythians rule Europe, i. e. that part not subject to the Greeks. Herodotus and Thucydides also speak of the Scythians, the former at great length. The Persians, though the principal people of Asia, are known chiefly through their collisions with the Greeks.

In regard to the Persian invasions, though the facts are the commonplaces of history, it will be well to notice the leading dates. The first campaign under Mardonius took place B. C. 492; the invasion of Attica, by Datis and Artaphernes, 490, the battle of Marathon being fought in September of that year; Xerxes succeeded Darius, 485; armed against Greece, 484; and the second Persian war broke out, 480, Xerxes crossing the Hellespont in the summer of that year; then followed, in rapid succession, the battle of Thermopylae, the battle of Artemisium, and the overrunning of Greece by the Persian hosts; in September, the sea-fight of Salamis, and the flight of Xerxes; finally, in September, 479, the battles of Plataea and Mycale.

Page 22, l. 5, 6. *κινδυνεύσειν, κρατήσειν*, G. § 27, n. 1; § 73, 1.

8. [*ὡσπερ ἂν εἰ ἐπολέμησαν*, i. e. *ὡσπερ ἂν ἐφθάρησαν*. G. § 53, n. 3; § 42, 3, n. 2.]

Page 23, l. 1, 2. *ἀμφοτέρων κρατήσαντες*; i. e. both the enemy and the allies. Having conquered the enemy in battle, and having surpassed the allies in energy and bravery.

2. *πρός*, in respect of, in regard to.

3. *εὐθὺς μὲν*; i. e. after the battle of Artemisium, when the honor of pre-eminent merit and valor was awarded to the Athenians. See Herod. VIII. 17, and Diodorus Sic. XI. 13.

4, 5. *τὴν ἀρχὴν τῆς θαλάττης ἔλαβον*. This refers to the supremacy which the Athenians acquired after the Persian war, chiefly through their naval power. The Greek islands and several of the Greek states in Asia Minor joined the confederacy and paid tribute (*φόρος*) to Athens. The resources thus placed at the command of the city for a long series of years gave her an immense preponderance in Grecian affairs, and enabled the Athenian statesmen to render the capital not only the centre of political power, but the chosen home of literature, eloquence, and the arts.

8. [*μηδεὶς οἰέσθω*. The present imperative and the aorist subjunctive are the regular forms after *μή* in prohibitions.] G. § 86.

10. *ὅτι κατέστησαν*, G. § 70, 1.

12. *ὅτι διήνεγκεν*, G. § 81, 1.

14. *ταχὺ λίαν παραδραμεῖν*, to run over the subject very rapidly.

15. *ἵνα γένηται*, G. § 44, 1.

17. *ἐπέλθόντα*, agreeing with the subject of *λέγειν*.

18. *προκατειλημμένων*, which have been preoccupied.

20. *τοῖς δημοσίᾳ θαπτομένοις*, those who are publicly buried.

It was a common custom at Athens to bury with public ceremonies those who had fallen in the public service. Some

citizen eminent for eloquence was selected to deliver a discourse (called *ἐπιτάφιος λόγος*). Thucydides (II. 34, 35) describes the burial of those who had fallen in the first summer of the Peloponnesian war, and the honors the Athenians conferred upon them (*τῷ πατρίῳ νόμῳ χρώμενοι*). On that occasion the discourse was delivered by Pericles himself. There is a funeral oration by Lysias; others were delivered by Hypereides, Demosthenes, &c. The latter makes it a strong point in his defence against the charges of Aeschines, that he was appointed to perform this duty over those who were slain at Chaeronea. The oration of Hypereides over the Greeks who fell at Lamia, — one of the most celebrated in antiquity, — long supposed to be lost, has been lately discovered among fragments of Egyptian papyri.

24. *ὀκητέον*, G. § 114, 2.

26. *γεγενῆσθαι*, G. § 73, 1.

Page 24, l. 3. *προασκήσαντες*, *who previously trained*.

6–9. Observe the careful antitheses between the clauses of this sentence, by the repetition of the corresponding particles *μέν* and *δέ*. Observe also the force of the imperfect tense in describing *habitual* action.

9. *πρὸς ἀργύριον*, *by the standard of money*.

12, 13. *μέλλοι . . . εὐδοκιμήσειν . . . καταλείψειν*. For the use of *μέλλω* with the infinitive, see Kühner, § 306. 1 (a); Soph. § 89, 2; G. § 25, 2. [*μέλλοι* and also *τυγχάνοι* are in the optative merely because they stand in indirect discourse after *ἔδόκει*. G. § 74, 1. They represent the present *indicative* of the direct discourse, in which the whole sentence would be: *οὗτος πλοῦτον ἀσφαλέστατον κέκτηται, ὅστις τοιαῦτα τυγχάνει πράττων ἐξ ὧν μέλλει*, &c.]

14, 15. *τὰς θρασύτητας . . . τὰς τόλμας*, *nor did they emulate each other's harshness, nor cultivate in themselves dispositions to oppress*. Bremi remarks upon this sentence: "Habet etiam codex noster Ambros. *ἄλλων* pro *ἀλλήλων*; quod non displicet. "Ἄλλοι enim sunt, qui vocabantur socii

tum Atheniensium tum Lacedaemoniorum, qui vero ab utrisque ut subjecti contumeliose tractabantur. Dicit igitur maiores non aemulatos esse in superba *alios* tractandi ratione; quae sententia sequentibus explicatur. In sequentibus recte οὐδὲ τὰς τόλμας τὰς αὐτῶν ἤσκουν pro καθ' ἑαυτῶν. Sic enim utraque membra respondent, et αὐτῶν est genitivus objectivus." This differs from the explanation given above; but it depends partly on a different reading from that adopted in the text.

16. [εἶναι is the present infinitive of indirect discourse, representing the present indicative, G. § 15, 2; ἀκούειν is the ordinary present infinitive, with no designation of time, G. § 15, 1.]

19. τοῖς σφετέροις αὐτῶν. For the possessive followed by a genitive, see Soph. § 156, 1, b.

20, 21. ἐσκόπουν ὅπως ἄρξουσιν, G. § 45; compare § 44, 2.

24. δεήσει; G. § 70, 2. [δεήσοι might have been used here. So with ἀμονήσουσιν, l. 26, and the indirect questions, ὁπότεροι ἄρξουσιν and ὁπότεροι φθήσονται, p. 25, l. 1-3; in all of which the future optative would have been regular.]

27. πολιτικῶς εἶχον, *were so public-spirited.*

Page 25, l. 3. φθήσονται . . . ποιήσαντες. For the construction of φθάνω with participles, in the sense of *to be the first to do* what is indicated by the participle, see Kühner, § 310, 4 (1); Soph. Gr. Gr., § 222, 3 (c); G. § 112, 2. For the peculiar use of the *aoorist* participle, not referring to the past, see G. § 24, notes 1 and 2. See note on p. 30, l. 20.

5. ἐπὶ τῇ . . . ὠφελείᾳ. This preposition, with the dative, often expresses *aim* or *object*, as here.

9-11. ἡγεμόνες and δεσπότες are connected in the way of comparison; καὶ σωτῆρες, though placed after δεσπότες, may be construed with ἡγεμόνες. The other and perhaps more natural construction is to connect καὶ σωτῆρες with the following clause. In this case, Bremi remarks that a *zeugma* takes place here, because ἀποκαλεῖσθαι is taken in a bad

sense and can apply only to *λυμεῶνες* in its full force. But it is used sometimes in a good as well as a bad sense, though generally the latter. Diodorus Siculus applies it to benefactors.

18. ἴδια, *their own*; not *private*, as sometimes rendered.

23. ὥστε *δυνηθῆναι*, G. § 98, 1.

Page 26, l. 2. ὑπείσι πράξεις, *actions are under*; i. e. *support*.

9. ποίων ἂν ἀπέστησαν, G. § 52, 2.

10. ζῶντες εὐδοκιμεῖν. For construction of nominative with infinitive, see Soph. Gr. Gr., § 222, 3 (c).

12–15. οἶμαι . . . θεῶν τινα συναγαγεῖν, ἵνα μὴ διαλάβοιεν. G. § 23, 2. [The aorist infinitive here denotes past time, like the aorist indicative, as it regularly does after a verb of *saying* or *thinking*. Here its force as a secondary tense is made especially obvious by the three optatives, διαλάβοιεν, τελευτήσαιεν, and ἀξιοθεῖεν, which depend upon it. See also the three aorist infinitives, p. 27, lines 14, 16, and 18.]

21, 22. οὐ μὴν ἀλλά, *yet*. For the ellipsis of a clause after the negative, see Kühner, Gr. Gr., § 322, R. 11.

23, 24. σφᾶς αὐτούς = ἀλλήλους.

24. ἐπὶ δουλείᾳ, *for the enslavement*. In the following clauses, observe the careful manner in which the balance is kept up by the correlative particles.

26, 27. ὁπότεροι γενήσονται. See note on p. 24, l. 24.

Page 27, l. 3. οἱ μὲν, *the Athenians*. For the description of the events here alluded to, see Herod. V. 102. The Athenians hastened to meet the enemy without waiting for the arrival of the allies.

7, 8. ὥσπερ ἐν ἀλλοτρίαις ψυχαῖς μέλλοντες κινδυνεύειν, *as if they had been about to incur a risk in other's lives*; i. e. *they risked their own lives as readily as if it had been the lives of others that were in peril*. See G. § 109, n. 3 (b). [When a participle is thus used with ὥσπερ, there is an ellipsis of an apodosis, to which the participle forms the protasis,—

ὥσπερ meaning simply *as* (not, *as if*). Thus here the full form would be, ὥσπερ ἂν ἐποίουν μέλλοντες (= εἰ ἔμελλον) κινδυνεύειν, *as (they would have done) if they had been about to incur a risk, &c.* Sometimes the full form ὥσπερ ἂν εἰ (or, in one word, ὥσπερανεῖ) is used, as in Plat. Gorg. 479 A, φοβούμενος ὥσπερ ἂν εἰ παῖς, — i. e. ὥσπερ ἂν ἐφοβείτο εἰ παῖς ἦν, — *fearing like a child.* G. § 42, 3, n. 2. Here, however, if a participle follows, the εἰ is strictly pleonastic, as below, p. 46, l. 11, ὥσπερανεῖ προπεμπόμενοι, on which see note.] — οὐκ ἔφθησαν πυθόμενοι, *had no sooner heard of.* Soph. Gr. Gr., § 222. 3 (c). See note on p. 25, l. 3.

9. καί is idiomatically used, and may be rendered *when*. See Matt. Gr. Gr., § 620. a. Bremi illustrates it by several parallel passages from the other orations of Isocrates.

11. ἂν. Constructed with some word to be supplied, *as they would have done.* G. § 42, 3, n. 2. See note on ὥσπερ μέλλοντες, above, p. 27, l. 7.

13. τῆς αὐτῆς ἡμέρας, *within the same day.*

14–18. For the infinitives, πυθέσθαι, στήσαι, διελθεῖν, see note on p. 26, l. 12–15.

15, 16. βοηθήσαντας . . . νικήσαντας. For the juxtaposition of several adjectives or participles with a copulative, see Matt. Gr. Gr., § 444. 3. — τρόπαιον . . . πολέμιων, *to raise a trophy of victory over the enemy.* For this use of the genitive, see Matt. Gr. Gr., § 367. B.

18, 19. στρατοπέδῳ πορευομένους, *marching in battle array.*

20. φθῆναι συμβαλόντες, *to engage first in conflict.* For construction, see note to p. 25, l. 3. — πρὶν ἐλθεῖν, G. § 106.

21. τοὺς βοηθήσοντας. Future participle expressing purpose.

25, 26. ὑπερβολὰς προθυμηθεῖς εἰπεῖν. ὑπερβολὰς here signifies *strange, extraordinary things*; things that go beyond the common range of human events. Translate, *having desired to speak of wonders.*

Page 28, l. 4. οὐκ ἐπαύσαντο, πρὶν ἐξεῦρε, G. § 67, 1, and n. 4.



5, 6. πλεῦσαι . . . . πεζεῦσαι. These expressions refer to the bridge built by Xerxes across the Hellespont, and the canal cut through Mount Athos. Evident traces of this canal still exist, confirming the truth of the Greek historians and exposing the ignorance of Juvenal, who says (Sat. X. 173):—

“Creditur olim  
Velificatus Athos et quidquid Graecia mendax  
Audet in historia.”

8. Πρὸς δῆ. The particle δῆ has here an emphasizing force, *Now against*.

12, 13. ὡς . . . . κωλύσοντες, *for the purpose of hindering them in the narrows*. For προελθεῖν after κωλύσοντες, see G. § 95, 2, with n. 1. [Instead of the simple infinitive we might have had μὴ προελθεῖν, τοῦ προελθεῖν, or τοῦ μὴ προελθεῖν.] For ὡς, see G. § 109, n. 4.

19, 20. τῆς . . . . μάχης, *on account of the battle at Marathon*. Genitive of cause or source.—αὐτοὺς ἐξισῶσαι, *to place themselves on an equality*.

21. μὴ γένηται, G. § 46; compare § 44, 2.

23. διαφυλάξαι. The preposition in this composition gives to the action the idea of persistency or permanency, *to preserve throughout*.

25. ἐνίκησαν, G. § 70, 2.

Page 29, l. 1. τὴν ἀρετὴν . . . . περιγιγνομένην, *that valor is superior to numbers*. Present participle describing the usual state of things, or what commonly happens. G. § 113.

4. τοῖς σώμασιν ἀπέειπον, *were overcome in their bodies, fell*; alluding to those Spartans who were slain at Thermopylae.

6, 7. πρόπλους. ναῦς understood. Xerxes had sent two hundred or (Diod. Sic.) three hundred ships forward to attack the Grecian fleet.

7. τῆς παρόδου, *the passage*; i. e. of Thermopylae.

11. κινδύνων. Partitive genitive. This construction of the genitive is a favorite one with Isocrates.

19. εἰσβάλλειν, G. § 25, 2, n. 1.

23. εἰδίδου, *offered*. The present and imperfect of this verb often have this signification. G. § 11, n. 2.

24, 25. ἡγούμενος, εἰ προσλάβοι, κρατήσῃν, G. § 74, 1; § 73, 1. [The direct discourse was, εἰν προσλάβω, κρατήσω, hence εἰν προσλάβῃ might have been used here.]

26. οὐδ' qualifies ὤρμησαν (p. 30, l. 1).

27. Ἑλλησιν, *the Greeks*; i. e. those Greeks who had joined the invading army. — ὅτι προδύθησαν, *because they* (i. e. the Athenians) *had been betrayed*. G. § 81, 1.

Page 30, l. 5. προσήκειν, *that it was natural, that it belonged to*, G. § 15, 2. So εἶναι, l. 7.

9. ἀποθανεῖν ἢ ζῆν. Observe the different shades of meaning in the aorist and the present tense, — the aorist infinitive describing a single experience, and the present a continuous state.

11. ὀφθῆναι γενομένας. For this participial construction with an infinitive, see Kühner, § 310. 4.

15. τὴν ἐχομένην νῆσον, *the neighboring island*; i. e. Salamis, to which most of the Athenians retired, with their families, on the approach of the Persian army.

16. ἐν μέρει, *in turn*. — ἐξέπλευσαν ἵνα κινδυνεύσωσιν, G. § 44, 2. [The subjunctive is used instead of the optative in final clauses, after secondary tenses, on a principle analogous to that by which, in indirect discourse, the indicative can be used for the optative. Thus, we can say εἶπεν ὡς τοῦτο ἀληθές εἶη, or εἶπεν ὡς τοῦτο ἀληθές ἐστί, — both meaning, *he said that this was true*, — because the direct discourse was τοῦτο ἀληθές ἐστί, and the ἐστί can either be retained in the quotation after a past tense, or changed to the same tense of the optative. On the same principle, in final clauses, we may say either ἦλθεν ἵνα τοῦτο ἴδοι, or ἦλθεν ἵνα τοῦτο ἴδῃ, — both meaning, *he came that he might see this*, — because,

as the purpose was originally conceived, the person said *ἔρχομαι ἵνα ἴδω*, *I go that I may see*; and a speaker or writer who narrates the act as a past event can either retain the same mood and tense (saying *ἵνα ἴδῃ*), or use the corresponding tense of the optative (saying *ἵνα ἴδοι*.)]

20. For *γενομένην* after *ἐπιθεῖν*, see G. § 112, 1; and for the *tense* of the participle, § 24, notes 1 and 2. Compare note on p. 25, l. 3. [The aorist participle here differs from the following presents precisely as the aorist infinitive would have differed from the present in a similar construction. That is, the city *being made desolate* (as a single act) is opposed to the (continuous) *ravaging of the country* by the enemy after their entrance, *πορθουμένην*, the *plundering and burning* of the temples, *συλώμενα* and *ἐμπιπραμένους*, and the gradual *coming on* (*γυγνόμενον*) of a state of war in their country. This peculiar use of the aorist participle, in which it seems to lose its force as a past tense, — like the aorist infinitive out of indirect discourse, — is most common with such verbs as *λανθάνω*, *φθάνω*, *τυγχάνω*, &c. See the reference given above.]

25, 26. *καταισχυνθέντες* implies admiration of the excellence of another, and shame for being outdone by him.

Page 31, l. 1. *αὐτοὶ σωθήσεται*. For the construction of the nominative with the infinitive, see Soph. Gr. Gr., § 222. 3 (c). For the tense of the infin., see G. § 73, 1.

2. *ἠναγκάσθησαν*, *were compelled*; i. e. through the sense of shame described by *καταισχυνθέντες*. The historians give a somewhat different account of the affair. See Herodotus, VIII. 42.

6. *λέγοντα*, *in speaking*. The participle agrees with the accusative subject of *διατρίβειν*.

8. *ταῦτα δ'*. Werfer, cited by Bremi, observes of the particle *δέ*, used as it is here, that, if a period precedes, to which, in what follows, another is opposed in such a way that the *protasis* and *apodosis* of the latter may refer by

antithesis to the protasis and apodosis of the former, μέν is used in the former, and δέ both in the protasis and apodosis of the latter. Μέν, however, sometimes appears but once, while δέ is repeated, as in this passage. See G. Rem. after § 64, n. 2.

10 - 12. μέν . . . οὐδείς δέ. Upon the relation of the particles μέν and δέ in this place, Spohn remarks: "Orator, verborum concinnitati et numerorum suavitati indulgens, paullulum recessit a recta via, sive verius obscuriorem reddidit nexum. Sensus hic est: Urbs plures quidem instruxit naves ad pugnam quam reliqui socii; inde autem patet eam salutis nostrae esse causam. Posterius vero membrum ornatu in oratorio variatum est."

14, 15. κρατῆσαι, γενέσθαι, G. § 23, 2.

19. τοῖς κοινοῖς τῶν ἀγώνων (partitive gen.), *the common conflicts*; conflicts in which the common welfare of Greece was at stake.

24, 25. τῶν κακῶν . . . μέρος μετασχόντες. Words signifying to participate usually take the genitive; sometimes, however, the accusative signifying the part is expressed, as in the present instance.

24 - 27. οὐκ ἂν πάθοιμεν, εἰ . . . ἀναγκασθεῖμεν, G. § 50, 2.

Page 32, l. 3, 4. [γεγενῆσθαι, καὶ . . . ἂν εἶναι. The direct discourse would be γεγένηται, καὶ . . . ἂν εἴη. G. § 73, 1; § 41, 1.]

5 - 8. ἐπειδὴ . . . προφέρουσιν. It may be well to explain at some length the historical bearings of the incidents here alluded to. The conduct of the Athenians during the Persian wars had justly given them a pre-eminence in the general affairs of Greece. Sparta, however, was jealous of their power, and constantly endeavored to check its growth. The supremacy by sea Athens was able to vindicate and maintain, through the naval power she had acquired by following the policy recommended by Themistocles. While the memory of the Persian wars still remained fresh,

the inferior states of Greece were glad to range themselves under the powerful protection of Athens, by entering into a confederacy with her. They formed, therefore, a league, at the head of which Athens was placed, and contributions for the common defence were apportioned among the allies. Aristides, whose character for justice inspired the highest confidence, was appointed to investigate the resources of the states, and to assign to each its proportion to be paid into the common fund. The assessment, as determined by him, gave universal satisfaction. The temple of Apollo, in the island of Delos, was fixed upon as the treasury, and the money was placed under the special care of a board of managers, Athenian citizens, and chosen by Athenians, denominated Hellenotamiae. This took place B. C. 477. There also assemblies were held, consisting of deputies from the confederated states, under the presidency of Athens. The annual amount of the tributes (φόροι) was at first four hundred and sixty talents. The details of the distribution of this heavy burden it is not necessary to dwell upon. The allies, though paying this tribute, considered themselves independent (αὐτόνομοι). But by degrees the Athenians encroached upon the rights of the allies, and finally reduced most of them to the rank of subject states. This led to oppression on one side and revolt on the other. The payment of tribute was no longer regarded by the Athenians as a free contribution, but as a debt, the discharge of which they had a right to enforce by arms. The allies were at the same time deprived of a vote in the assembly. See Thucyd. I. 94–99; and Grote, Vol. V., chapters 44 and 45.

A violent invasion of the rights of the allies was made B. C. 461. The treasure was removed from Delos to Athens. The excuse for this removal of the deposits was the same as that for a more recent act,—“the greater security of the treasury” from the Barbarians. In the time of Pericles, the annual tributes are said to have

amounted to six hundred talents; and that wily and able statesman obtained undisputed control over them.

The money was now employed to promote the peculiar interests of Athens. The city was embellished with costly edifices, and innumerable works of surpassing excellence in every department of the fine arts. The expensive festivals, the choric and dramatic entertainments, and the frequent donations to the people, were in part paid for out of the resources drawn from the subject states. The amount of tribute was from time to time increased, until it rose to three or four times the original sum.

At the beginning of the Peloponnesian war, out of the whole confederacy, only three states, Chios, Mitylene, and Lesbos, retained their independence; but the disastrous close of that long and bloody conflict put an end for the present to the contributions of the allies. Aristophanes, in the comedy of *The Wasps*, speaks of a thousand subject cities, which indicates, at least, that at that time the confederacy was very extensive.

In the course of the Peloponnesian war, the transactions spoken of in the text as having afforded matter of reproach against the Athenians took place. Melos was a Dorian colony of the Lacedaemonian race. (See Herod. VIII. 48, and Bähr's note to Herod. VIII. 46.) It continued faithful to Sparta until B. C. 416, when a formidable expedition was fitted out from Athens to reduce the island. A squadron of thirty-eight galleys, with about three thousand troops on board, set sail. The Melians refused to yield to the summons, and declared their resolution to maintain the independence they had enjoyed for seven hundred years. The siege was prosecuted with great vigor, and before the end of the year the Melians were reduced, by the sufferings incident to war, to the necessity of surrendering at discretion. The Athenians, with dreadful cruelty, as Thucydides relates (V. 116), "put to death the adult Melians, and enslaved the



children and women; the land they occupied themselves, having sent out afterwards five hundred colonists."

A few years earlier than this, B. C. 421, the catastrophe of Scione was brought about. Scione, situated on the peninsula of Pallene, renounced the Athenian alliance, and received the Spartan general, Brasidas, who was prosecuting military operations in the North. The Athenians were indignant at this proceeding, which they considered as a violation of the truce of a year just concluded between them and the Lacedaemonians. In B. C. 419, Scione was compelled to surrender at discretion. A decree had already been passed at Athens (Thucyd. IV. 122), on the motion of Cleon, dooming the Scionaeans to death. This decree was executed to the letter. The men were slain, and the women and children reduced to slavery.

Isocrates dwells but little on the Peloponnesian war, because there is but little in that long, bloody, and ruinous strife which redounds to the glory of Athens. Two transactions so atrocious as those at Melos and Scione, and so injurious to the fame of Athens, could not well be passed over unnoticed; for they were a matter of common reproach to the city. Isocrates makes but a poor defence. The amount of it is, that others have shown equal or greater cruelty.

14-16. *εἰ . . . ἐπιτιμῶεν*, G. § 54, 1 (α).

18. [*ἦν μή τις κολάζῃ* is used in a *general* supposition, the leading verb *εἰστί* expressing a general truth. G. § 51.]

24, 25. *Ἐπὶ . . . ἡγεμονίας*, *In the time of our supremacy* (*Hegemony, leading*, or right of precedence conceded to some one of the Grecian states by the rest). — *οἴκους*, *houses*; i. e. *family estates*.

26, 27. *ἐπιδόντας* and *γενομένας*, participles in *oratio obliqua*. G. § 73, 2; § 113.

Page 33, l. 1. *αὐτῶν*. Part. gen. depending on *ταῖς ἀξανομέναις*. — *ἐνεποιούμεν*. Imperfect, expressing continued or customary action.

2. πολιτείας ἐναντίας, *forms of governments* (or constitutions) *opposed to each other.*

6. συμμαχικῶς, ἀλλ' οὐ δεσποτικῶς, *as allies, not as masters.* This statement is not wholly borne out by history. At the beginning, the allies were treated with due regard to their independence; but afterwards, as we have already seen, the Athenians assumed towards them the authority of masters.

7, 8. ὄλων . . . ἰδίᾳ. The former expression refers to the relations of the several cities with other states; the latter to the constitution and internal arrangements of the allies. — ἐκάστους. “Singuli intelligantur; non cives, sed singulae civitates et republicae; ut Rhodii, Chii, Byzantii.” Wolf.

12. τῶν ἀρχῶν, *the offices of state.*

14. μετοικεῖν, *to be in the condition of the μέτοικοι.* These, at Athens, were resident aliens, allowed certain privileges on the payment of an annual sum of money, but not permitted to take any part in the affairs of state. In the census by Demetrius Phalereus, the number of this class of the population was ten thousand, consisting chiefly of persons engaged in mercantile business. They were not allowed to acquire landed property. Each μέτοικος was required to place himself under the protection of some citizen, who was his patron, προστάτης, legal representative, and surety. The greater part of the business transacted at Athens was in the hands of these aliens. It is to the condition of this class that Isocrates compares the state of the great body of citizens in the oligarchical governments of Greece. For a full account, see Smith's Dictionary of Greek and Roman Antiquities, art. μέτοικοι. See, also, Boeckh's Public Economy of Athens, Book I. ch. 7 and 24, III. ch. 7, and IV. ch. 10, Lamb's translation. Also Wolf's Prolegomena ad Lept.

14, 15. τῆς πολιτείας ἀποστερεῖσθαι, *to be deprived of political rights.*

20. ἔχοντα agrees with the subject of ἐπαινεῖν, in the preceding line, and denotes the cause. G. § 109, 4.

21. *ἑβδομήκοντ' ἔτη*, *seventy years*. The period during which the condition of things here described existed at Athens is differently stated by different writers. Lysias (Epitaph., p. 113, R.) agrees with the number here given. Isocrates, in the Panathenaicus, puts it sixty-five (p. 214, 29); Demosthenes, forty-five (Olynth., III. p. 35, R. § 24); again, seventy-three (Phil. III. p. 116, § 23); Lysurgus, adv. Leocr. (c. 17), ninety; Andocides, de Pace (p. 107), eighty-five; Dionysius Halicarn., Ant. Rom. (I. 3), sixty-eight. The fact seems to be, that no such period, strictly considered, occurred in the annals of Athens. But there was a period of comparative tranquillity, in the early age of the Athenian republic, which may be variably estimated, as the reader chooses to fix the beginning and the end at different dates in the chronology, leaving out of consideration, or noticing, according to the view he may take of them, the temporary and partial disturbances that occasionally broke in upon the general repose. [The two numbers given by Demosthenes (45 and 73) may be reconciled by supposing that he included under the former the time between the establishment of the confederacy of Delos, in 477 B. C., and the beginning of the Peloponnesian war, in 432 – 31 B. C., and under the latter the whole time until the end of the war in 404 B. C. As the war was carried on to break up the Athenian empire, it was proper to include the 27 years of its duration in the period of supremacy. Isocrates seems to refer in round numbers to the same period which Demosthenes gives more exactly as 73 years. But when he adds the phrase *εἰρήνην ἄγοντες πρὸς πάντας ἀνθρώπους*, he falls into a style of exaggeration, in which the Attic orators frequently indulge when speaking of the more glorious history of the preceding century.]

26. *τὰς κληρουχίας*. *Κλῆρος*, *a lot*, has also a local, Athenian sense, and means the portion of land taken from the public enemy, or from a revolted tributary, and granted to

an Athenian citizen for the purpose of colonization. The citizens receiving these lands were called κληροῦχοι; and the possession and occupation κληρουχία. This feature in the public policy of Athens gave rise to many acts of injustice and oppression, which brought reproach upon her name. See Boeckh's Pub. Econ. of Athens, pp. 110, 162, 300, 308, 524, 526, 540, 546, American translation, by Lamb.

Page 34, l. 3, 4. ὡς πρὸς τὸ πλῆθος, *considered in reference to the number, or in proportion to the number.*

7, 8. ὑπὸ τὴν Ἀττικὴν. “Ὑπό cum accusativo regionis loci propinquitatem significat, illiusque, ni fallor, regionis in aliam vel propter loci naturam potestatem. Posterior significatio ipso vocis sono aliquantulum in praepositione morantis substantivumque ab ea quasi separantis augetur.” Bremi.

9. εὐφυνῶς εἶχε, *had great natural advantages.* See Thucyd. VIII. 96.

10, 11. κρατοῦντες . . . . αὐτῶν. Wolf explains, “κρατοῦντες ἂν αὐτῆς, ἤγουν, εἴπερ ἠβουλόμεθα”; i. e. *we might control it, if we chose.* But Morus, “*obtinentes, i. e. obtinere volentes, id agentes ut imperio teneremus.*” Bremi, “*Quia scilicet nec incolae nec alius quisquam, qui eorum tutelam voluisset recipere, Atheniensium opibus potuisset resistere.*” The idea seems to be, that, on account of the position and physical peculiarities of Euboea, the Athenians, with the aid, it is to be supposed, of their navy, had it more completely within their power than they had the Attic territory itself; and yet, as the orator goes on to remark, they were not tempted to any act of injustice against its possessors.

14–18. ὁμῶς . . . . ἐχόντων. The construction of the preceding clause and this part of the sentence is an example of *anacoluthon*, passing, as it does, from the nominative of the participle to the accusative of the pronoun to which the participle refers; the accusative being governed by ἐπήρε. “*Primum nempe persona, Athenienses, ut subjectum oratoris animo obversabatur; hinc ejus attributa per participia*

expressa in nominativo ponuntur; progrediente enuntiatione, periculosa et corruptrix rerum conditio animum loquentis occupat, et hoc fit subjectum οὐδὲν τούτων, et hoc verbum attrahit ἐπῆρε. Hinc persona, quae ab initio ut subjectum obversabatur, fit objectum ἡμᾶς, et attributa in nominativo praecedentia pendent per anacoluthon, si vis, rhetoricum potius quam grammaticum." Bremi. The statement in the text with regard to the conduct of the Athenians towards Euboea is contradicted by the facts of history. See Thucydides, I. 114; Diod. Sic. XII. 22; Xen. Hell. II. 2. 2. — ζῶντας, G. § 112, 1. — δουλεύειν αἰτίαν ἐχόντων, literally, *having cause to be slaves*, i. e. *worthy of being reduced to slavery*; i. e. for having revolted from the Athenians.

18, 19. βουλόμενοι, *if we had wished*, equivalent to εἰ ἐβούλομεθα. G. § 52, 1; § 16, 2.

20, 21. ἦν . . . παραδόντες. Concerning the assignment of the land of Scione to the Plataeans, see Thucydides, III. 20. For the participle, see G. § 113; § 73, 2.

25. ὑπὲρ τοῦ μὴ ἐπιθυμῆναι, G. § 94.

26. δεκαδαρχιών. The decadarchies, or governments of ten men, were the forms established by the Lacedaemonians in subject states. The government was intrusted to a council of ten, at the head of whom was placed an ἀρμοστής, or Spartan governor, subject to the supreme authority at home. See below, p. 111.

26 — Page 35, l. 7. τολμῶσι . . . ἐξαμαρτεῖν. Observe, in the successive clauses of this sentence, the care with which the orator discriminates the shades of meaning, while describing various actions, by using the present and aorist tenses of the participles and infinitives. κοινωνήσαντες, *those who shared in*, the act considered as single and completed; διαλυμηγμένοι, ποιήσαντες, λιπόντες, and τολμήσαντες expressing acts in a similar point of view, while φάσκοντες, ἐπιτηδεύοντες, and ὀδύρομενοι describe repeated or continued acts [in time present with reference to the leading verb]. G. § 16, 1; § 24.

5. Μηλίων. For the affair of the Melians, see above, p. 102.

10. ἐνόμιζον. The imperfect tense here and in the following clauses describes repeated or continued action, or habitual states of mind, in the past.

11. Εἰλώτων. The Helots were a people who had been reduced to abject servitude by the Spartans. On their origin and condition, see the clear statements of Thirlwall, Vol. I. p. 309 seqq., and Müller's Dorians, III. 3. 1, cited by the historian. For further particulars, consult Thucyd. I. 101 seqq., IV. 80, Strabo, VIII. c. 73, and Isocrates, Panathenaicus, c. 73. The term Helot is used for slave; and here, those who were subservient to the Spartan policy and supported the Spartan agents are, by a doubly contemptuous expression, termed slaves of the Helots.

13. αὐτόχειρας, *those who slay or commit violence with their own hand.*

17. τοὺς συμπαθήσοντας, *those who would sympathize, those who were ready to sympathize.*

21. Τίνος . . . ἐφίκοντα. For the construction of the genitive, see Soph. Gr. Gr., § 199.

26, 27. διαθέντες . . . κατηγοροῦντες. G. § 112, n. 6. The aorist participle describes the *completed* action, the present describes the action as *continuing* at the moment of speaking.

Page 36, l. 1. τῶν ποτε . . . γενομένων, *which have ever taken place among us*; alluding to the litigious character which the Athenians notoriously had;—to the numerous suits and prosecutions, having their origin in the selfishness and malignity of the sycophants, which made the property of the citizens, and life itself, insecure.

2, 3. αὐτοὶ πλείους . . . ἀποκτείναντες. The allusion here is to the atrocities committed by the Thirty Tyrants, whose government was established in Athens at the close of the Peloponnesian war, B. C. 404. This detestable oligarchy



could not long be endured, notwithstanding the depressed state of the Athenians. At the end of eight or nine months, it was easily overthrown by Thrasybulus and the returning exiles, and the ancient constitution, with some modifications, was once more restored. For the details of this interesting period, which may be compared with the Reign of Terror in the French Revolution, see Thirlwall, Vol. IV. p. 174 seqq. Grote, VIII. Chap. 65. See also the graphic sketch of these events in the second book of Xenophon's Hellenica. They are stated with more or less fulness by Isocrates in the Panathenaicus, Demosthenes, and others.

8, 9. *ῥαδίως . . . . διέλυσε*, *one might easily have put an end to by a single decree.* — For *διέλυσε ἄν* and *δύναίτο ἄν*, see G. § 52, 2. With regard to the different language applied by the orator to the acts of the Athenians and those of the Lacedaemonian party, Bremi well remarks: “Prudenter autem de Atheniensium injuriis verbo leniore *διαλύειν, solve, finire, utitur*; graviore *ἰᾶσθαι* de Lacedaemoniorum saevitia.”

12. *τὴν παροῦσαν εἰρήνην*, *the present peace.* The peace here referred to was that known in history as the peace of Antalcidas, negotiated by Antalcidas, on the side of the Spartans, and Tisibazus, the representative of the Persian king, B. C. 387. Sparta, at the close of the Peloponnesian war, stood in a position of commanding power and influence. She soon, however, not only became involved in hostilities with some of the Grecian states, but the expedition of Thibron, B. C. 399, commenced a series of aggressive operations against Persia, ostensibly in defence of the Asiatic Greeks. The principal campaigns were conducted by Agesilaus and Lysander successively. The period between B. C. 399 and the conclusion of the peace, B. C. 387, is crowded with important events, among which stand prominent the battle of Sardis, the death of Lysander, and the disgrace of Pausanias, B. C. 395; the battles of Corinth, of Cnidus, and of Coroneia, B. C. 394; and the restoration of

the Long Walls at Athens, B. C. 390. The successes of Conon, which alarmed Sparta by threatening the restoration of the supremacy by sea to Athens, caused the Spartan government to change its policy towards Persia, and to relinquish its designs of conquering the kingdom. In the year B. C. 390, Antalcidas, an able politician, was despatched for the purpose of negotiating a peace. The proposals he made, though perfectly satisfactory to Tiribazus, the Persian satrap, were opposed by the envoys from Athens, Boeotia, Corinth, Argos, and other Grecian states, and the negotiation for the present fell through. Tiribazus was soon after superseded by Struthas, who favored the Athenians; and the Spartans despatched Thimbron to renew hostilities. He was defeated and slain by the Persian commander; but the Spartan fortunes were retrieved by Diphridas, his successor. Thrasybulus, the hero of Phyle, was sent on an expedition from Athens to support the democratic party in Rhodes, in the year B. C. 389, which was signalized by his death in a riot at Aspendos. Hostilities between the contending parties were continued, to the annoyance and misfortune of both sides. Athens and Sparta were equally desirous of peace. The subordinate states were tired of the war; and Tiribazus, having called together deputies from the belligerents, and "having shown the royal seal, read his master's decree, which ran in the following imperial style: 'King Artaxerxes thinks it right that the Greek cities in Asia, and the islands of Clazomenae and Cyprus, should belong to himself; but that all the other Greek cities, both small and great, should be left independent, with the exception of Lemnos, Imbrus, and Scyrus, and that these should, as of old, belong to the Athenians. If any state refuse to accept this peace, I will make war against it, with those who consent to these terms, by land and by sea, with ships and with money.'" Thirlwall, Vol. IV. pp. 443, 444. Grote, IX. Chap. 75; X. Chap. 76.

This was the celebrated treaty of Antalcidas, so much reprobated by the Attic orators, and especially by Isocrates; a peace which, as Thirlwall remarks, while it “professed to establish the independence of the Greek states, subjected them more than ever to the will of one. It was not in this respect only that appearances were contrary to the real state of things. The position of Sparta, though seemingly strong, was artificial and precarious; while the majestic attitude in which the Persian king dictated terms to Greece disguised a profound consciousness that his throne subsisted only by sufferance, and that its best security was the disunion of the people with whom he assumed so lordly an air.” Vol. IV. pp. 445, 446.

14. ἐν . . . ἀναγεγραμμένην. Literally, *written up, in the articles of compact*. The expression refers originally to the custom of inscribing laws, the articles of treaties, and other public documents, on tablets or columns, and thus exposing them to the view of the people. The language is often applied where the fact which suggested it no longer exists.

16, 17. καταποντισταί, *pirates*. Applied to the Persians and Lacedaemonians, “odii augendi causa,” on account of the cruelties exercised by them. The word refers to the sinking of the ships after they have been plundered.

17. πελτασταί, here *mercenaries*. The term refers to the equipment, “armorum genus inter ψιλούς, leves, et όπλατας, *graves*.” Bremi.

18. καταλαμβάνουσιν. “Retulerim ad Lacedaemonios, qui facta pace Antalcidae unam post aliam urbem hostiliter aggressi sunt, armisque ceperunt.” Morus.

21. πρὶν ποιήσασθαι, G. § 106.

27. άρμουςταί. Smith (Dictionary of Gr. and Rom. Ant.) says: “Harmostae was the name of the governors whom the Lacedaemonians, after the Peloponnesian war, sent into their subject or conquered towns, partly to keep them in

submission, and partly to abolish the democratical form of government, and establish in its stead one similar to their own. Although in many cases they were ostensibly sent for the purpose of abolishing the tyrannical government of a town, and to restore the people to freedom, yet they themselves acted like kings or tyrants, whence Dionysius thinks that Harmostae was merely another name for kings. How little sincere the Lacedaemonians were in their professions to restore their subject towns to freedom was manifest after the peace of Antalcidas; for although they had pledged themselves to re-establish free governments in the various towns, yet they left them in the hands of the Harmostae. . . . It is uncertain how long the office of an Harmostes lasted; but considering that a governor of the same kind, who was appointed by the Lacedaemonians in Cythera, with the title of Cytherodices, held his office only for one year, it is not improbable that the office of Harmostes was of the same duration." See also the authorities cited in the article.

Page 37, l. 5. *παύσασθαι . . . ποιουμένων*. Participial construction, like our English idiom, *to cease making*. G. § 112, 1. Observe the different shades of meaning in the aorist and the present. The former expresses the single act of *ceasing*; the latter refers to the repeated instances of invasion and attack.

6. *ἀνέχεσθαι πορθουμένην*, G. § 112, N. 2.

8, 9. *ὥστε . . . καθέλκειν*. This refers to a treaty made with Artaxerxes Longimanus after the victory gained near Salamis, in Cyprus, by the fleet of Cimon over the Phoenician and Cilician galleys of Artaxerxes Longimanus, B. C. 449. Cimon had died shortly before, but the Grecian armament, with the remains of their commander on board, encountered and defeated the enemy's ships. The terms of the treaty, consented to by the Persian king, are stated to have been, that he would abandon the military occupation

of Asia Minor for the distance of three days' journey on foot, or one on horseback, from the coast, or, according to another account, the whole peninsula west of the Halys, and abstain from passing the mouth of the Bosphorus and the Chelidonian islands, on the coast of Lycia, or the town of Phaselis, into the Western Sea. See Thirlwall, Vol. III. p. 37 seqq., where he also points out ably the doubtful character of the transaction as described by the Attic rhetoricians; and Grote, V. chap. 45 (pp. 451–458, with notes). Bremi cites from Aristides, Panath., p. 57, the stipulation on the part of the Persian king, “μακρῶ πλοίῳ μὴ πλείν ἐντὸς Κυανέων καὶ Φασήλιδος.”

12, 13. ὅτι εἶχεν, § 70, 2, n. 1 (a).

16, 17. τὴν . . . ἀτυχίαν, *the disaster that took place in the Hellespont*; i. e. the victory gained by Lysander over the Athenian fleet, B. C. 405, near the mouth of the Aegos Potamoi, a small stream in the Chersonesus, running into the Hellespont. Conon, the Athenian commander, took refuge with Evagoras, the prince of Cyprus. This was the last conflict of much importance in the Peloponnesian war.

16–22. Μετὰ . . . περιέπλευσαν. This passage contains a rapid enumeration of the disasters which befell Greece, in consequence of the downfall of Athens and the rise of Sparta, at the close of the Peloponnesian war. — ἐτέρων, *others*, i. e. the Spartans. — ναυμαχοῦντες. Referring particularly to the victory of Artaxerxes Mnemon at Cnidus. — Κύθηρα. The island of Cythera (modern Cerigo, but now restored to its ancient name), opposite Cape Malea, famous for the worship of Uranian Aphrodite.

24. εἰ παραγνοίῃ, *if he should read side by side*, comparing them with one another. G. § 50, 2.

25. τὰς νῦν, *the present*; i. e. the articles of the peace of Antalcidas.

27. ὀρίζοντες, G. § 113.

Page 38, l. 3, 4. καὶ . . . καθιστάς, *and all but establishing governors in the cities.* An ἐπίσταθμος is the same as a satrap.

6, 7. ἐπρυτάνευσε . . . ἐπιστάτης. These words are borrowed from the office of the Prytanes, in the Athenian constitution. The fifty members of the Senate, who took the chief part in the meetings for the period called a Prytany, bore this title, while the president for the day, taken from their number, was the Epistates. πρυτανεύειν here signifies to take the initiative in dictating the preliminaries of the peace; while ἐπιστάτης καθέστηκεν expresses more entirely the absolute control he exercised over all the terms of the treaty.

8, 9. Οὐχ . . . κατηγορήσοντες; *Do we not sail to him as to a master for the purpose of accusing one another?* G. § 109, 5. This and the following questions allude to the fact, that the aid of the Persian king was often invoked by the contending parties among the Greeks, in their wars with each other. For the sake of gaining an advantage, they were willing to humiliate themselves before the Great King, and to receive gold from him who was the most implacable enemy of the Grecian race.

10. [ὥσπερ γεγονότες, *as if we were become*, literally, *as (we should do) if we were.* The participle expresses a protasis. G. § 109, 6. See note on p. 27, l. 7, 8.]

16-19. ὅτι . . . ἐποίησαν, *that at the beginning they engaged in the war under pretext of liberating the Greeks, but at the conclusion they caused so many of them to be surrendered.* For the future participle with ὡς, see G. § 109, n. 4. This refers, of course, to the war before spoken of (see *ante*, pp. 109, 110) between Sparta and Persia, — the pretended object of the Spartans being to secure the independence of the Asiatic Greeks, — and to the peace of Antalcidas, by which the Spartans replaced so many of them under the power of the king.



19, 20. καὶ τῆς . . . ἀπέστησαν, *and caused the Ionians to revolt from our city.* The Ionian cities of Asia Minor were established by Athenian colonists, who were afterwards allies and members of the confederacy; the Athenians being originally of the Ionian stock. The same charge is brought against the Spartans in the Panathenaicus, c. 39.

22. ὧν . . . ἔχουσι, *against whose will they hold the land;* i. e. land that they have wrested from the barbarians in Asia.

25. ἐπάρχειν. “Hoc loco de eo qui, praeter suam civitatem in alias dominationem, vel, si mavis euphemistice loqui, patroni quoddam jus habet. Romanis Proconsules ἐπαρχοὶ nominabantur.” Bremi.

27. δασμολογεῖσθαι, *to be subjected to tribute, to have tribute exacted;* referring, says Bremi, to the tributes which were to be paid to the Persians.

Page 39, l. 1. κατεχομένας, G. § 112, 1.

2. καί, *also.*

3. ἀργυρωνήτων, *silver-bought,* i. e. purchased slaves. The same word is used in the same sense in the Plataicus.

5. ὅταν ἀναγκάζονται, G. § 62.

6. συστρατεύεσθαι, *to serve with;* referring to the fact, that the Asiatic Greeks were compelled to serve in the Persian armies against nations of their own race; a contest in which victory only enhanced their own servitude.

7. πολεμεῖν . . . ἀξιοῦσι, *to wage war with those who desired to liberate them.*

8, 9. [ἤττηθέντες and κατορθώσαντες represent the aorist subjunctive in protasis. G. § 109, 6; § 52, 1.]

12–14. περιορῶσι . . . πάσχοντας. G. § 112, 1. — τῇ . . . ῥώμῃ, *with the strength of the Greeks;* i. e. the Ionians of Asia.

16. ἐξέβαλλον. Imperfect, describing habitual action, *used to cast out.* The expression refers to such instances

as the aid which the Lacedaemonians rendered the Athenians in expelling the tyrant Hippias.

18. *πολιτείας, republics*; as opposed to *μοναρχίας*, in the next line. [Aristotle, *Polit.* IV. 8, § 3, thus defines the term *πολιτεία*:—*ἔστι γὰρ ἡ πολιτεία ὡς ἀπλῶς εἰπεῖν μίξις ὀλιγαρχίας καὶ δημοκρατίας, εἰώθασι δὲ καλεῖν τὰς μὲν ἀποκλινοῦσας ὡς πρὸς τὴν δημοκρατίαν πολιτείας, τὰς δὲ πρὸς τὴν ὀλιγαρχίαν μᾶλλον ἀριστοκρατίας.*]

19. *συγκαθιστᾶσι, assist in establishing.* G. § 65, 3.

19–25. *Τὴν . . . ἔξουσιν.* The transactions alluded to in this sentence took place as follows. Mantinea was dismantled by Agesipolis, and the inhabitants distributed among five villages, B. C. 385, about eighteen months after the conclusion of the peace (*Polyb.* IV. 27, *Diod. Sic.* XV. 5, *Isocr. de Pace*, § 100). The Cadmeia of Thebes was taken by Phoebidas, B. C. 382, in violation of the peace (see *Thirlwall*, Vol. V. p. 15). Polybius says that the Spartans punished the offender, but did not withdraw the garrison, as if the wrong were atoned for by the penalty inflicted on the wrong-doer. In the same year, the Spartans aided Amyntas, the Macedonian, in the war against the Olynthians. The siege of Phlius took place B. C. 380, and in the following year, B. C. 379, both Phlius and Olynthus were reduced (*Diod. Sic.* XV. 19 seqq., *Xen. Hellenica*, V. 3). Dionysius had become master of Syracuse B. C. 406. Between him and the Spartans friendly relations existed for many years. The intrigues of Aristus, who was sent on a mission to Dionysius, are narrated by *Diodorus Siculus*, XIV. 10.

The words concerning the co-operation with the barbarian master of Asia in extending his power, refer to the often-mentioned peace of Antalcidas.

25. *ὅπως ἔξουσιν*, G. § 45.

27. *καθιστάναι, to endeavor to establish.* The present tense often has this signification. G. § 10, 1, n. 2.

Page 40, l. 3, 4. ἀλλ' . . . περιβάλλειν. The alternative clauses are ἀλλ' ἀναγκάζειν . . . ἡ . . . περιβάλλειν.

5. ὅταν τις ἴδῃ, G. § 62.

7, 8. στρατευομένους . . . πεποιημένους. Observe the different tenses, — the frequentative sense of the present participle, describing the repeated acts of military aggression committed by the Spartans upon the other Greeks, and the single and completed act of concluding the treaty, described by the perfect.

9. μηδεὶς ὑπολάβῃ, G. § 86.

9, 10. τραχύτερον. Of this word Bremi remarks: "Interdum dicitur de aspero et moroso sermone inferioris adversus superiorem, hic hominis privati adversus totam civitatem." For the force of the comparative degree without a second member of the comparison, see Kühner, § 323, Rem. 7.

11. [ὡς ποιήσομαι. The future optative might have been used after the past tense. G. § 70, 2.]

14, 15. παύσω ἔχοντας, G. § 112, 1.

17. ἦν μή τις ἐπιτιμήσῃ, G. § 51.

18, 19. ἐπὶ . . . ἐπ'. Constructed with the dative, expressing end or purpose.

21. [μὴ λεγόμενοι is equivalent to εἰν μὴ λέγεται. G. § 52, 1; § 51.]

23. εἰλωτεύειν, to be in the condition of Helots.

25. ἐξόν, G. § 110, 2.

26. περιόικους. The literal meaning of this word is, *those who dwell around*. "But it is generally used to describe a dependent population, living without the walls, or in the country provinces, of a dominant city, and, although personally free, deprived of the enjoyment of citizenship, and the political rights conferred by it." Smith's Dict. of Gr. and Rom. Antiq. In a more restricted sense, the Περιόικοι were the original Achaean population, who were reduced to vassalage after the Dorians had conquered the

Peloponnesus. See Thirlwall, Vol. I. p. 307 seqq.; also Wachsmuth's Historical Antiquities of the Greeks, Vol. I. p. 252 seqq.; Müller's Dorians, Book III.; Clinton's Fasti Hellenici; Manso's Sparta, I. 1. 62 seqq. The word is here used metaphorically for *vassals* or *subjects*.

Page 41, l. 3. *νησιώτας*, *the islanders*; i. e. the inhabitants of the Greek islands.

5. *ἡπειρώτας*, *the inhabitants of the continent*; i. e. the Asiatic continent, especially the Persians.

6. *τὴν μὲν πλείστην αὐτῆς*, *the greatest part of it*. For the common idiomatic construction, by which an adjective governing the genitive is put in the gender of the noun which it governs, see Kühner, Gr. Gr., § 264. 2. c; also Aeschylus, Agamemnon, 1221, and the present editor's note upon the passage.

11. *καταγνῶναι . . . ἡμῶν*. For this construction of the acc. and gen., see Soph. Gr. Gr., § 194, n. 3. — [*καταγνῶναι ἄν* represents *καταγνοίεν ἄν* of the direct discourse. G. § 41, 3; § 73, 1; § 76.]

15, 16. [*ἐξ ὧν μηδέποτε πανσόμεθα*. G. § 65, 1. See note on p. 15, l. 3. If *ὅπως* were used instead of *ἐξ ὧν*, we should have the common construction after *σκοπεῖν* (G. § 45).]

20. *τοῖν στρατοπέδοις*, *the two armies*. The reference is to the Cyprian war. Evagoras, prince of Salamis, endeavored to make himself master of the whole island. The war consequent upon his revolt lasted from B. C. 386 to B. C. 376. Artaxerxes carried it on with the assistance of an army chiefly of Ionian Greeks. The forces of Evagoras also consisted of Greeks. Evagoras was assassinated B. C. 374. See Diod. Sic. XV. 2; also Thirlwall, Vol. V. p. 436 seqq., and VI. p. 121 seqq.

Page 42, l. 1. *ἄν . . . ἐπόρθουν*, *would be plundering*. See Kühner, § 260 (2), and G. § 49, 2. — For the omission of *ἄν* with *ἐκινδύνεον*, see G. § 42, 4.

7. μέλλει, i. e. ἔχειν. See Soph. Gr. Gr., § 222. n.; also Matt. § 498.

12. οὕτω κυρίως, *so absolutely*.

18, 19. πολλὰς . . . πεποιήται. The force of the article τὰς here is, *the revolutions which*; the middle πεποιήται, which Coray thought should be changed into the active, has, as Bremi remarks, a reflexive signification; not simply that *he has made* the revolutions, which would be the sense of the active, but has caused them to be effected for his own advantage, or to promote his own designs.

21. ἐν παραχαῖς ὄν, *being in disorders*. The Persian empire was disturbed by seditions and revolts, particularly by the revolt of Evagoras.

22. ἡ που, *surely*. See Kühner, § 316, 2. — εἰ ἔσται, G. § 49, 1, n. 3.

23. ὅταν, G. § 61, 3.

24. καὶ . . . γνώμης, *and shall be brought under the control of one will*.

26. Οὐ μὴν οὐδ'. For a full explanation of these negative particles, see Kühner, Gr. Gr., § 318.

Page 43, l. 1–7. Εἰ . . . ῥώμης. Observe the careful co-ordination of the sentences. Εἰ μὲν corresponds with εἰ δέ; again, εἰ in the protasis corresponds with ἄν in the apodosis, both being constructed with the imperfect indicative (see Kühner, § 339 (b)); μὲν, in line 4, corresponds with δ'; and, finally, note the antithesis between τοῖς ἑτέροις, line 5, and θάτερ', line 6.

8, 9. πολλαῖς ἐποίησαν, G. § 30, 1, n. 1. — τὰς ῥοπὰς. For the force of the article, see above, note to p. 42, l. 18, 19. — Χίων. Chios had but a small naval force; the example is adduced merely to illustrate the general remark in the previous clause.

10, 11. βουλευθείεν, G. § 62. The leading verb ἦσαν expresses a general fact.

14. ὑπὲρ αὐτοῦ, *on his own account, for himself*.

15. ἀποστάσης Αἰγύπτου. G. § 109, 1. The relations between Egypt and Persia are not easily explained in all their details. Cambyses conquered Egypt B. C. 525. It had revolted B. C. 486, and been reconquered by Xerxes B. C. 484. Another revolt broke out B. C. 460, and the war lasted six years. Before the Cyprian war, an expedition had been sent under Abrocomas, Tithraustes, and Pharnabazus; but so unsuccessful was the attempt, that, in the words of Thirlwall (Vol. VI. p. 125), "The Egyptian prince was encouraged to act on the offensive, and to aim at extending his dominion over other provinces of the empire."

20. τελευτῶντες, G. § 109, n. 8.

21, 22. τὴν ἐλευθερίαν ἀγαπᾶν, *to be content with liberty.* See Kühner, Gr. Gr., § 274, R. 1.

24. ἐπ' Εὐαγόραν στρατεύσας, *having gone, with his forces, against Evagoras.* This refers to the Cyprian war, so often spoken of.

24, 25. ἄρχει μὲν μιᾷ πόλει, *rules one city, i. e. Salamis.* — ἔκδοτος, *given up*; i. e. not included in the treaty of Antalcidas, but surrendered to the Persian king; the island of Cyprus being, according to Xenophon, one of the islands claimed by the Persian king (Hellenica, V. 1. 31).

26, 27. προδεδυστύχηκεν, *has been previously unsuccessful.* He had been defeated in a sea-fight by the Persians.

Page 44, l. 8–21. Ἐν δὲ . . . ἐνίκησαν. It has been already mentioned, that, after the defeat of the Athenians at Aegos Potamoi, Conon took refuge with Evagoras in Cyprus, where he remained several years watching the progress of events. (See note on p. 37, l. 16.) He appears to have engaged in the king's service, after some preliminary negotiations, to have raised a fleet, and to have acted as the king's admiral. During the campaigns of Agesilaus, he seems to have remained inactive, probably for want of money and supplies. "Diodorus distinctly relates, that he left the fleet in the care of two Athenians, named Hierony-



mus and Nicodemus, while he himself went up to Babylon, where he had an interview with Artaxerxes, who granted all his requests, and at his own desire appointed Pharnabazus his colleague. Pharnabazus appears to have taken command of the Phoenician galleys; the Greek squadron remained under the immediate orders of Conon. As they sailed westward along the coast of Syria, Conon's squadron being some way ahead, they fell in with Peisander, coming from Cnidus. According to Diodorus, his fleet consisted of eighty-five galleys, and that of the enemy amounted altogether to no more than ninety. But Xenophon informs us that Conon's squadron alone was so much stronger than Peisander's fleet, as to spread dismay among the enemy, and that on his approach many of the allies in the left wing of the Peloponnesians immediately took to flight. The rest were driven on shore, where Peisander, remaining with his ship to the last, fell, Spartan-like, sword in hand." Thirlwall, Vol. IV. pp. 412, 413. This defeat of the Spartans, by the combined Persian and Greek forces under the command of Conon (B. C. 394), is commonly known as the battle of Cnidus; and this name is adopted into the text by Wolf. But as Rhodes was very near the city of Cnidus, being at a short distance from the coast of Caria, the transaction might with a sufficient degree of geographical correctness be referred to Rhodes. Bremi, citing Ernesti, remarks: "Nihil frequentius esse quam loca vicina permu- tari in proeliis, quae in plurium locorum vicinia fiunt. Satis hoc novimus vel ex recentissimorum bellorum memoria."

9, 10. τὴν χάλειπότητα τῶν πολιτειῶν, *the irksomeness of the forms of government*; i. e. the uncongenial and oppressive character of the institutions established by the Spartans. — ταῖς ὑπηρεσίαις, *the succors*, those alluded to above.

12, 13. πιστότατος δὲ τοῖς Ἕλλησιν, *most faithful to the Greeks*. As Bremi says, there is some apparent incongru-

ity in thus describing Conon, however deserving he may be of this epithet: "Quum nonnisi de iis praeclari hominis virtutibus sermo sit, quae in regis Persarum utilitatem et honorem cedebant." But the orator means to describe the whole policy of the Spartans as averse to the best interests of the Greeks; and Conon, in opposing them, even by aiding the Persians, showed his fidelity to those interests; and the greater his fidelity to the Greeks, the more persevering would be his efforts in supporting the king's quarrel with the Spartans; and yet, with so zealous a co-operator, the Persian king was obliged to see his fleet hemmed in by only a hundred galleys for the space of three years, and to keep back the soldiers' pay for fifteen months.

16. *πολιορκούμενον* after *περιείδε*, G. § 112, 1. See note on p. 30, l. 20.

18, 19. [The protasis to *διελύθησαν ἄν* is found in *τὸ ἐπ' ἐκείνω*, if it had depended on him. G. § 52, 1.]

19, 20. *τὴν συμμαχίαν τὴν περὶ Κόρινθον συστᾶσαν*. This refers to the confederacy formed against Sparta by the Argives, Thebans, Corinthians, and others. Agesilaus had been recalled to avert the threatened danger. A congress of the anti-Spartan states was assembled at Corinth. While they were debating, however, the Lacedaemonian army, under Aristodemus, the guardian of King Agesipolis, crossed the borders and defeated the allied forces with great slaughter. The news of the victory met Agesilaus at Amphipolis. This was in the same year, B. C. 394, but earlier. The pressing danger spoken of in line 19 is the danger apprehended from this alliance, which led to the recall of Agesilaus.

26. *ὡς οὐ χρωμαι*, G. § 34, 3.

Page 45, l. 3. *Δερκυλίδας*. Dercylidas was ordered from Sparta to the Hellespont, B. C. 411 (see Thirlwall, Vol. IV. p. 41 seqq.). He was despatched, B. C. 399, to supersede Thibron in the command of the army against Persia. In

Aeolis, he gained possession of nine cities in eight days. He was one of three commissioners to ratify the armistice with Tissaphernes, B. C. 396, after which he returned to Sparta. He was appointed, B. C. 394, to carry the news of the battle of Corinth to Agesilaus, whom he met at Amphipolis, and by whom he was sent to convey the intelligence to the Asiatic Greeks. "This service, Xenophon says, he gladly undertook, for he liked to be absent from home, — a feeling possibly arising from the mortifications to which, as an unmarried man, he was subjected at Sparta." Smith's Dictionary of Gr. and Rom. Antiq.

4. Δράκων. This was an Achaean of Pellene, who occupied Atarneus, after Dercylidas had reduced it by a siege of eight months, B. C. 398. From this point he ravaged the Mysian plain with three thousand targetiers. See Xenophon's Hellenica, III. 2. § 11. Atarneus was in Aeolis, just opposite to Lesbos.

4-9. [ἐπήρχε is regularly retained after ὅτι, although the leading verb is past, for want of an imperfect optative: G. § 70, 2, n. 1. On the other hand, ἐποίησεν, ἐπόρθησαν, and ἐκράτησεν might have been put in the aorist optative.]

6. Θίβρων: Thibron, or Thimbron, commanded in Asia, B. C. 399. He was succeeded, as stated above, by Dercylidas. See Xenophon, Hellen. III. 1. 6, Anab. VII. 6. 1. See, also, Thirlwall, Vol. IV. p. 360 seqq.

7-9. Ἀγησίλαος . . . ἐκράτησεν. The expedition of Cyrus, which is the subject of one of the best-known and most interesting works of Xenophon, took place B. C. 401. The army was defeated in the battle of Cunaxa, and the retreat was accomplished B. C. 400. The remains of the Grecian troops, who succeeded in reaching the coast under the command of Xenophon, joined King Agesilaus in the war which he was then waging against the Persians.

13. τῶν . . . συναναβάντων, *those who went up with Cyrus*; i. e. who accompanied him in the expedition referred to in

the preceding note. — ὄντες, in indirect discourse after ἐπεδείχθησαν, G. § 113.

The remainder of this paragraph alludes to the incidents which happened after the battle of Cunaxa, and in the retreat so well described by Xenophon. Isocrates makes the number of Greeks six thousand, differing from Xenophon, who, as is well known, states it to have been ten thousand. See Xenophon's *Anabasis*, *passim*.

15, 16. [στασιάζειν and βούλεσθαι are in the *imperfect* infinitive (G. § 15, 3) after τίθημι, which here signifies, *I grant*. See G. § 15, 2, n. 1.]

Page 46, l. 4. ὡς εἰ τοῦτο παρανομήσειε συνταράξων. For the participle with ὡς, see G. § 109, 5, n. 4; and for the protasis, G. § 74, 1. [In the latter, εἰν παρανομήσῃ, the form that would have been used in the direct discourse, might have been retained.]

11. [ὡσπερανεὶ προπεμπόμενοι (i. e. ὡσπερ ἂν ἐπορεύθησαν εἰ προνέμονται). G. § 42, 3, n. 2.]

12, 13. τὴν . . . χώρας. For this idiomatic construction, see above, p. 118, note to p. 41, l. 6.

14, 15. [μέγιστον νομίζοντες, εἰ ἐντύχοιεν. The apodosis to εἰ ἐντύχοιεν is in the ἔσεσθαι implied after νομίζοντες. In the direct discourse the protasis would be εἰν ἐντύχωμεν, and εἰν ἐντύχωσιν might therefore have been used here. G. § 74, 1. Compare note on line 4, above.]

17, 18. κατέβησαν, *came down*; i. e. returned to the coast from the interior. For the force of the preposition κατά, and ἀνά, in συναναβάντων (l. 13), see Kühner, §§ 290–292; also an excellent article on Greek Prepositions in the N. A. Review, No. CXXXV., pp. 376–379.

19, 20. ἐπιδεδείχθαι, G. § 18, 3; § 73, 1.

24. ὑπ' αὐτοῖς τοῖς βασιλείοις, *under the very palace*. The expedition of Cyrus came near reaching the capital; and but for the fall of Cyrus, the army would have been victorious. Xen. *Anab.* II. 4. 4; — ἡμεῖς ἐνικῶμεν τὴν βασιλέως

δύναμιν ἐπὶ ταῖς θύραις αὐτοῦ, *we were conquering the king's army at his very gates.* — τελευτῶντες, G. § 109, n. 8.

The following paragraph describes the leading features of Oriental life. The manners and customs of the Persians, Isocrates argues, are such as must naturally lead to the results he has enumerated, in collisions with the manlier race of the Greeks; and an able general or brave soldier could not be formed under the influence of their modes of life.

Page 47, l. 5. ὧν ἔστιν, G. § 59, n. 2.

11. ὑβρίζοντες, G. § 109, 3.

12. ὡς ἂν διαφθαρεῖεν, G. § 52, 2.

15. ἐξεταζόμενοι, *proving themselves, or exhibiting themselves*; i. e. by their constant attendance at the palace, and their slavish manners, displaying their baseness and pusillanimity. In Athenian law, ἐξετάζειν has the technical meaning of *to investigate*, especially by the torture of slaves. Hence Bremi thinks ἐξεταζόμενοι has, in this passage, a metaphorical signification, *vexati*. It also signifies *being reviewed, or mustered*, like soldiers.

20. οἱ . . . . θάλατταν, *those of them who came down to the sea*; i. e. the satraps sent down from the capital to assume the government of the provinces in Asia Minor.

21. ἐκεῖ, *there*; i. e. at the capital. Observe, in what follows, the careful connection of the clauses by the particles μέν and δέ.

26—Page 48, l. 1. Τὴν . . . . διέθρεψαν. This refers to the transactions that followed immediately after the battle of Sardis, B. C. 395. Tissaphernes, the Persian satrap, was outgeneralled by Agesilaus, and induced to remain in the valley of the Maeander. Agesilaus marched directly upon Sardis, and, meeting the portion of the Persian army stationed there, defeated them in a great battle. Tissaphernes was charged with treachery, and Tithraustes was sent down to supersede him and to put him to death. The sentence was executed by an underling, who found Tissaphernes in

the bath. Tithraustes then sent envoys to treat with the Spartan general, proposing that he (Agesilaus) should now return home, since Tissaphernes, whom he (Tithraustes) affected to regard as the common enemy, was dead. Agesilaus replied, that he could not take such a step without the authority of the government at Sparta. Tithraustes then proposed that the Lacedaemonian general should spend the intervening time in invading the satrapy of Pharnabazus. The proposition was accepted, on condition that Tithraustes paid the expenses. The satrap advanced thirty talents, which, according to Isocrates, supported the army eight months. See Thirlwall, IV. p. 389 seqq.

1, 2. *ἑτέρου . . . ἀπεστέρησαν*, and *deprived those who were fighting in their defence of their wages for twice that length of time.* *ἑτέρου τοσοῦτου*, not *another equal length of time*, which would of course be eight months; but the expression is analogous to such phrases as *τέταρτον ἡμιάλαντον*, which means, not *the fourth half-talent*, i. e. two talents, but *three talents and a half*; the three talents being implied in the *τέταρτον* (see Matthiae, Gr. Gr., Vol. I. p. 233). So, in *ἑτέρου τοσοῦτου*, the *one* time of equal duration is implied by *ἑτέρου*, the *other*, or second, time. The precise time has been before stated as fifteen months.

3. *Κισθῆνην*. Harpocration and Suidas speak of it as a mountain in Thrace. Wolf calls it a city in Aeolis; others, a city in Mysia. It was probably a city in Aeolis, with a harbor near it. See Strabo, p. 607. The event alluded to here is no further known.

4. *τοὺς . . . στρατευσαμένους*, *those who served with them against Cyprus*; i. e. the Ionian Greeks who shared in the expedition against Evagoras. See above, p. 118, note to p. 41, l. 20.

5. *ὡς ἀπλῶς εἰπεῖν*, G. § 100

9–11. *Κόνωνα . . . ἐτόλμησαν*. Conon's fate is differently related by different authors. It will be remembered, that,



after the battle of Aegus Potamoi, he fled to Evagoras; then entered the service of Persia against the Spartans. After the battle of Cnidus, he returned to Athens, and superintended the rebuilding of the walls, which had been taken down at the close of the Peloponnesian war, by direction of Lysander, and distributed fifty talents among the citizens. According to Nepos, he had formed the design of restoring Æolis and Ionia to the Athenians. Tiribazus pretended that he desired to send Conon to the king on important business. On arriving at the capital, he was seized and thrown into prison. Others state that he went up to the king, and was treacherously seized and put to death. See Cornelius Nepos, Conon, c. IV. V., and Thirlwall, Vol. IV. p. 434.

11-13. *Θεμιστοκλέα . . . ἤξιωσαν.* Themistocles, having rendered most important services to Athens in the Persian war, was ostracized, and went into exile, and, after wandering to Argos, Coreyra, Molossia, and Ephesus, was finally compelled to take refuge in Persia. He arrived at the capital just after the death of Xerxes, B. C. 465, and was received at the Persian court with the most distinguished honors. See Thirlwall, Vol. II. p. 383 seqq., Cornelius Nepos, Themistocles, c. VIII. - X.

17. *ἐπιβουλεύοντες*, G. § 112, 1.

18-21. *Τί . . . ἐτόλμησαν.* All this refers to the outrages committed by the Persians, in their invasion of Attica. See Herodotus, VIII. c. 24 seqq.

22-24. *Διὸ . . . βουληθείεν.* The reading *Ἰωνας* is doubtful here. According to Diodorus Siculus (XI. 29), an oath to this effect was taken by the Greeks at the Isthmus, before the battle of Plataea, B. C. 479. In the oration of Lycurgus against Leocrates, the formula of the oath is preserved, — “that they would not prefer life to liberty; would not desert their commanders, living or dead; that they would bury those of the allies who fell in battle; . . . that they would rebuild none of the temples burned and levelled

by the Barbarian, but would leave them to be a memorial to posterity of Persian impiety." The circumstance is not mentioned by Herodotus. — For the protasis, εἰ κινήσειαν ἢ βουληθεῖεν, see G. § 77, 1; [the aorist subjunctive might have been used.]

25, 26. [πόθεν ἐπισκευάσωσιν. The subjunctive is retained from the direct question; G. § 88; § 71. — ἵνα ᾗ, G. § 44, 2: so πιστεύῃ and the following subjunctives.]

Page 49, l. 7. ἡπειρώταις, *inhabitants of the continent*; i. e. Asiatics or Persians.

8. ὅταν πάσχωσι, G. § 62.

10. μηδισμού θάνατον κατέγνωσαν. καταγιγνώσκω is often constructed, as here, with the accusative of the penalty, the genitive of the crime, and the genitive of the criminal, — *passed sentence of death on many for favoring the Persians*; a crime called *Medism* (μηδισμός).

12. χρηματίζεω, *to transact business*. It is a technical term, frequently occurring in the orators, when speaking of the business brought before the Senate and the Assembly. See Demosthenes de Corona, *passim*. — ἐπικηρυκέεται, *sends heralds*; i. e. for the purpose of friendly negotiation and reconciliation. G. § 53, n. 2. This ceremony will remind the reader of the solemn imprecations uttered in former times by the Pope against the Turks and eclipses.

13, 14. Εὐμολπίδαι . . . μυστηρίων. For an account of the Eleusinian initiations, and the Eumolpids, see above, pp. 72–74, and p. 90. The κήρυκες particularly referred to here were a family who held the office of heralds in the Eleusinian mysteries, inheriting the dignity from ancient mythical times. Xenophon (Hellen. II. 4. 13) has τῶν Μυστῶν κήρυξ. Diodorus Siculus compares these classes with the Egyptian priesthood (I. 29).

21. ὕμνους, *hymns, songs of triumph*. The word signifies either songs composed for special occasions, or the stated chanting of poetical compositions, at festivals, by the rhap-

sodists. At Athens, it was ordained that the Homeric poems should be delivered in regular order at the Panathenaic festival.

22. *θρήνους*. The Threnes were poems of the character of dirges. See History of Greek Literature, by K. O. Müller.

25-27. [*λαβεῖν* and *βουληθῆναι* are in indirect discourse after *οἶμαι*, and therefore preserve their force as *aorists*, referring to past time. G. § 23, 2. Compare these with *ποιῆσαι* (G. § 23, 1), which refers to no definite time.]

Page 50, l. 1. *τοῖς . . . ἀθλοῖς*, in the contests of music. The musical contests, in the more limited sense of the word, were those in which prizes for excellence in the musical art were awarded. But under the term music the Athenians included whatever belonged to a polite and liberal education; i. e. all their intellectual discipline. The poems of Homer were much used as the groundwork of early education in the Athenian schools, and large portions of them were committed to memory by the Athenian youth. Plato, however, disapproved of this, and banished the old poet from his republic, on account of the morals and manners which he attributes to the gods. See "Classical Studies," by Sears, Edwards, and Felton, pp. 325-341.

3-5. [The two subjunctives after *ἵνα* depend on a secondary tense (G. § 35, 2), and are to be explained on the principle of indirect discourse. See note on page 30, line 16.]

8. *ὁ παρὸν καιρός*, the present opportunity. The favorable circumstances to which Isocrates refers were:—1. The revolt of Egypt, which called off a part of the Persian forces. 2. The war of Cyprus, now in its sixth year, which consumed many of the king's resources. 3. According to Diodorus Siculus (XV. 2), Evagoras held by military occupation several places in Phoenicia; Syria was probably in much the same condition. Tyre was the most important

and wealthy commercial metropolis, nearly opposite Cyprus, and therefore likely to be deeply affected by the movements of the island. 4. Many cities in Cilicia were held by those who were favorably inclined to the Athenians, and Lycia had never been under the Persian power. 5. Hecatomnos, the satrap of Caria (Diod. Sic. XV. 2), in the war with Evagoras, secretly co-operated with him, and aided him with large supplies of money for the support of his armies. 6. From Cnidus to Sinope, that is, from the Triopian promontory, at the southwestern corner of Caria, to the northern side of Paphlagonia, on the Euxine Sea, — a line extending from the southwestern extremity of Asia Minor along the whole western coast, thence along the Propontis and the greater part of the Euxine Sea, — there dwelt a Hellenic population who required to be restrained from hostilities, rather than to be urged to engage in the war.

9. ἀφετέον, G. § 114, 2.

11. μέλλοντες (i. e. εἰ μέλλοιμεν), G. § 52, 1.

21. ὅταν βουληθῶμεν, G. § 61, 3.

25. τοσούτου πολέμου, *so great a war*, i. e. as we, the Greeks, might, under such circumstances, wage against Persia. The participles here express supposition. G. § 109, 6.

Page 51, l. 3 – 6. εἰν κατάσχη, τάχ' ἂν ἀποκλίναιεν. [A mixed construction, with a second protasis implied in the latter clause.] G. § 54, 1 (a).

7. αὐτάς, *them*; i. e. the cities on the coast.

9. ἐπί, *in the power*, or *at the service of*.

13. ὑστερίσαντες . . . βαρβάρων, *having been behindhand with the Barbarians*; i. e. letting the Persians get the start of them, instead of invading Persia; whereby the Persians were enabled to force into their service many of the Greeks, namely, the Ionians, and those who were conquered by the Persians before the battle of Marathon. See Herod. IV. 89 – 104.

15. ἐξόν, G. § 110, 2.

17. ἐν μέρει, *by turns, or in succession.*

18. ὅταν πολεμῇ, G. § 62.

20. ἕως ἂν ἐπιστῶσω, *until they may have become concentrated.* G. § 66, 2.

24, 25. φθῆναι . . . ἐγκαταστήσαντες. See above, pp. 94 (note to p. 25, l. 3), 96 (note to p. 27, l. 20).

26. ἡπειρωτῶν, *the inhabitants of the continent*; i. e. the Asiatic continent, who, as Isocrates urges, obey the Persian king only on compulsion, because he is constantly surrounded by a force superior to each of the various nations that constitute his empire.

Page 52, l. 1, 2. ὅταν διαβιβάσωμεν, G. § 61, 3. — δ. For the construction of the relative where the antecedent is a sentence, see Soph. Gr. Gr., § 172. 1. c. — βουλευθέντες (= εἰ βουλευθῆμεν), G. § 52, 1.

6. ἐπὶ . . . ἡλικίας, *in the present age.*

13–18. ὥστε . . . ἀποθνήσκειν, G. § 98, 1.

20. συγκειμένας, *put together*, set forth in fictitious composition; especial allusion being made to the Attic tragedies.

23. ὥστε χαίρουσιν, G. § 65, 3.

26. δυστυχίας ἀνδρῶν, *misfortunes of men*; i. e. of individuals, or small numbers, when cities and states are subverted. — εἰ ὀδυροίμην, G. § 50, 2.

27. ἀνάστατος. According to Isocrates (De Pace, § 99), the Lacedaemonians, after they had acquired the supremacy, set about overthrowing the constitutional governments in the Greek cities of Italy and Sicily, and establishing tyrannies in their place. Dionysius, the tyrant of Sicily, also received the aid of the Spartans in his attempts to subject to his power the Greeks of Sicily and Italy. The disastrous expedition of the Athenians to Sicily, in the Peloponnesian war, is well known. It took place B. C. 415. The Athenians were utterly defeated, some put to death, and others

sold for slaves, B. C. 413. See the masterly narrative of Thucydides, VI. and VII.

Page 53, l. 7 - 10. ἐχρῆν . . . συμβουλεύειν, G. § 49, 2, n. 3. — εἰσηγεῖσθαι, to introduce the subject. The word is technically used of taking the initiative in public measures.

11. συνεπέρανεν ἄν, G. § 52, 2. — For the following protasis and apodosis, see G. § 49, 2.

17. Οὐ μὴν ἀλλ'. An elliptical expression, signifying, *This indeed is not all, but, &c.* It may be rendered in such places, *But surely.* See Kühner, Gr. Gr., § 323, R. 11.

19. σκοπεῖν ὅπως ἀπαλλαγσόμεθα, G. § 45.

26, 27. ἐξ ὧν οἰκήσομεν καὶ διακεισόμεθα, G. § 65, 1. See note on p. 15, l. 3.

Page 54, l. 4. πρὶν ἂν ποιησόμεθα, G. § 67, 1. [The analogy of this clause with the protasis, ἦν μὴ πολεμήσωμεν, above, will be noticed.]

12. περὶ παντὸς ποιητέον, *it is our duty to make it of the greatest account; we must consider it of the first importance.* See Matt. Gr. Gr., § 589; G. § 114, 2.

12, 13. ὅπως διοριούμεν, G. § 45. — [ὥς, as a causal particle, *since*; it here introduces a conditional sentence, instead of a simple verb in the indicative; G. § 81, n. 2.]

18. τὰς συνθήκας, *the compacts; i. e. the terms of the peace of Antalcidas.*

21. [ὥς τυχοῦσαι, *since (as they themselves know) they have gained this through him.* G. § 109, n. 4. Ὡς implies that the cause was the one assigned by the states themselves for their gratitude to the king, — not, however, implying that Isocrates doubted that it was the real cause.]

Page 55, l. 7. ἐν ταῖς στήλαις, *on the columns; i. e. those on which the terms of the treaty were inscribed.*

9. ταῦτα δέ. For the particle δέ, see above, p. 65, note to p. 3, l. 6.

10. χρῆν ἀναιρεῖν, G. § 49, 2, n. 3.

13 - 15. αἵτινες ἂν ἔχωσι, G. § 62. — [Instead of τὰ ἐλατ-



τοῦντα, he might have used ἂ ἂν ἔλαττοί, or ἂ ἔλαττοί (Ind.). G. § 52, 1.]

16. τῶν πρεσβευσάντων, *those who negotiated*; literally, *those who served as ambassadors*.

19–23. ἐχρῆν . . . . συγγράφεσθαι, G. § 49, 2, n. 3.

21. ὑπὸ τὴν εἰρήνην, *just about the time of the peace*. For this sense of ὑπό, see Kühner, Gr. Gr., § 299, III. (2).

23. συγγράφεσθαι, *to come to terms*.

26, 27. [ὡς ὑπὲρ ἐκείνου πολεμησάντων. Most later editions read ὥσπερ, which certainly seems to be required, although the weight of manuscript authority is in favor of ὡς. (See G. § 110, 1, n. 1, and the example from Isocrates there quoted.) If ὡς is retained, it must be understood in the sense of ὥσπερ, the construction being, ὡς ἐκείνου ἂν κατέστησαν, εἰ ὑπὲρ ἐκείνου ἐπολεμήσατε ὑμεῖς. So with the other participles, καθεστηκυίας, κατοικούντων, ἐχόντων, and δυναστεύοντων, which represent protases in the pluperfect and imperfect indicative respectively (G. § 52, 1). See note on p. 56, l. 10–12, below.]

Page 56, l. 8. κόσμῳ, *heaven*. Originally, *order, system*; then, *the universe*; here, = οὐρανῶ.

10–12. [ὥσπερ . . . . νεμόμενος, ἀλλ' οὐ . . . . ποιούμενος (i. e. ὥσπερ ἂν εἰλήφει, εἰ πρὸς Δία ἐνέμετο ἀλλ' οὐ πρὸς ἀνθρώπους ἐποιεῖτο). For the negative οὐ with ποιούμενος, which might here be retained even in protasis with εἰ, see G. § 47, 3, note, and especially the last examples. The same principle applies to οὐκ ἐχόντων, p. 56, l. 2; see note on p. 55, l. 26.]

17. καθ' ὅλης τῆς Ἑλλάδος, *at the expense of all Greece*.

18, 19. ὅπως ληψόμεθα, G. § 45.

26. πρὶν . . . . ἐποίησαν. The indicative after πρὶν states the fact positively, as having historically occurred. G. § 67, 1.

Page 57, l. 3. θεωρία, *a festival deputation*, such as was sent to represent the Grecian states at the great national

games. See above, p. 81, note to p. 15, l. 5. What the orator means is, that the war against Persia will rather resemble a splendid and showy procession, sent to participate in a national festivity, than the hard service of a military invasion.

9, 10. *πολλαχού ἂν τις λογιζόμενος εὔροι.* Here *λογιζόμενος* represents *εἰ λογίζοιτο*, G. § 52, 1. — *λυσιτελούσας*, G. § 113.

19. *περιβεβλημένοις, who have encompassed themselves with.*

Page 58, l. 1. *καταλέγοντες, by levying.* See Kühner, Gr. Gr., § 312.

16. *τεύξεσθαι*, G. § 27, n. 3. [*Προσδοκῶ*, like *ἐλπίζω* and similar verbs, may be followed by the present and aorist infinitive, as well as by the future.]

25. *τοῦ μεγέθους.* See Soph. Gr. Gr., § 199.

27. *ὄσης ἂν τύχοιμεν, εἰ . . . ποιησάμεθα*, G. § 72; § 76.

Page 59, l. 7–9. *τοὺς δὲ . . . γράφοντας, and those who engage in contests of arguments, to cease writing upon questions of deposit and other trifling matters;* alluding to the numerous cases of litigation upon common business transactions which occupied the talents of the orators, when, in the opinion of Isocrates, they might have been much better employed in stirring up their countrymen to put an end to their domestic feuds, and to unite for the subjugation of Persia. Genitive *λόγων* with *ἀμφισβητοῦντας, with respect of, the subject of, &c.*

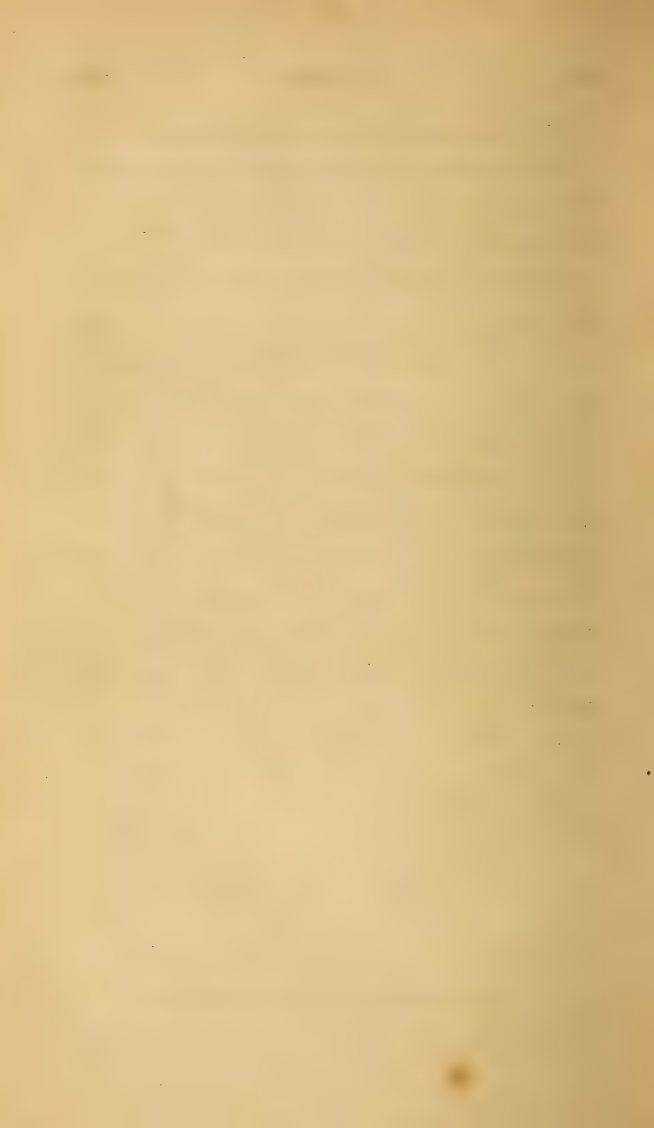
10–12. *σκοπεῖν ὅπως ἐροῦσιν*, G. § 45.

14–17. *ἐξ ὧν . . . ἐπιδώσει . . . ἀπαλλαγῆσονται . . . δόξουσι*, G. § 65, 1. See note on p. 15, l. 3.

*Additional Note to page 15, lines 2 and 3.*

The peculiar use of the subjunctive in ἔχειν ἐφ' οἷς φιλοτιμηθῶσιν may perhaps be explained by the analogy of the common construction, οὐκ ἔχω τί (or ὁ τί) εἶπω, *non habeo quid dicam*, where the indirect question is obvious. The transition from οὐκ ἔχω ὁ τί εἶπω to ἔχω ὁ τί εἶπω might be easily made, although in the latter all trace of the indirect question disappears. Other similar examples are cited by Krüger (*Gr. Gr.* § 54, 7, A. 2), in all of which the leading verb is ἔχω. These are *Plat. Symp.* p. 194 D, ἐὰν μόνον ἔχη ὅτφ διαλέγηται, and *Xen. Oecon.* 7, 20, ἔξειν ὁ τί εἰσφέρειωσιν. In *Plat. Phaedr.* p. 255 E, and *Lys.* in *Andoc.* § 42, we have the same construction, if we accept Bekker's emendation ὁ τί λέγη for ὁ τί λέγει, which the sense seems to require. Compare also *Plat. Ion.* p. 535 B, where we find ἀπορεῖς ὁ τί λέγῃς and εὐπορεῖς ὁ τί λέγῃς in the same sentence; here the transition is especially simple. Even if we explain εὐπορεῖς ὁ τί λέγῃς as an indirect question, it seems a perversion of language to apply that name to the others, as Krüger does. Of course, these remarks will not apply to the doubtful example from *Thucyd.* VII. 25, discussed in the note, or to the cases of the optative there quoted.

W. W. G.



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*Extract from the Preface.*

"The greatness of the genius of Aristophanes is not generally appreciated, and the value of his comedies as illustrations of the political antiquities, the life, morals, and manners of Athens, is not fully understood. The truth is, we are indebted to him for information upon the working of the Attic institutions, which, had all his plays been lost, we should have vainly sought for in the works of other authors. No intelligent reader can doubt that Aristophanes was a man of the most profound acquaintance with the political institutions of his age, no reader of poetic fancy can fail to see that he possessed an extraordinary creative genius. It is impossible to study his works attentively, without feeling that his was one of the master minds of the Attic drama. The brightest flashes of a poetical spirit are constantly breaking out from the midst of the broadest merriment and the sharpest satire. An imagination of endless variety informs those lyrical passages which gem his works, and are among the most precious brilliants of the Greek language. In the drawing of characters his plays exhibit consummate skill. . . . The comedy of the Clouds is, for many reasons, one of the most interesting remains of the theatrical literature of Athens. Though, like every other comedy, its wit turns upon local and temporary relations, it has, what is not common to every other comedy, a moral import of permanent value. It was written at a time of great changes in the national character of the Greeks, and bears marks of its author's determined opposition to the new ethical and philosophical views that were eating into the very heart of the national virtues."

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*Extract from the Preface.*

“The Birds of Aristophanes has always been regarded as one of his most delightful pieces. Like the Clouds, it is comparatively free from the objectionable license of thought and language which deforms several of his plays to such a degree that they cannot be used in schools and colleges. It is true there are some passages in this play also too freely executed; but it has been decided, on mature reflection, to let them stand, so as to offer the drama entire, on the principles which guided my decision in editing the Clouds. The text of this edition is reprinted from the *Poetæ Scenici* of Dindorf. . . . I have endeavored to explain from other sources a branch of the subject to which little attention has heretofore been given; — I mean the natural history of the birds, which are very entertaining figures among the persons of the play. I suspected that the poet’s selection of birds was not made at random, but that, in every instance, they were chosen with a special meaning, and to effect a particular purpose in point of art. In considering the play from this point of view, I have been much indebted to my friend and colleague, Professor Agassiz, of whose profound and comprehensive knowledge of ornithology I have been permitted to avail myself in attempting to determine the species of some of the birds not hitherto identified; and I have come to the conclusion that, in all cases, the character and habits of the birds are exactly and curiously adapted to the parts they perform in the comedy, showing Aristophanes to have been a careful observer of nature as well as a consummate poet. . . . Great care has been taken to illustrate the political allusions, and the application of judicial expressions, in the course of the piece. . . . The satire of the birds is more playful, comprehensive, and genial than that of any other of the poet’s comedies. The spirit of parody and burlesque, which is a general trait in the Aristophanic drama, here displays itself most freely and amusingly.

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*The Independent.*

In speaking specially of Björnson, I wish to make his books an exception to those titles which daily flame from the publishers' columns. He has stepped at once into a new place, and made it his own. Or, if it is not a new world into which we are introduced, we find the old one enveloped in a new atmosphere, and it assumes under his touch an almost fairy significance. It may be said that much of this freshness and simplicity come from the really little we know of Norway, and the latent power in a simple theme simply treated. I think something like this has been urged; but when you refer the genius of an author in this broad way to the choice treatment of a topic, you have rather asserted than explained it. Good

choice and happy execution are what define for us all excellence of which art or authorship is capable. I have spoken of Björnson as a story-teller; but he is a poet, too,—as much so as if he dealt directly with the accessories of verse. The little bursts of song which are scattered through “Arne” are well done, and very sweet in their place; but I do not include his lyrical quality in these. Carrying his art into prose, it is still poetic; and there is hardly a page in “Arne” and the “Happy Boy” that is not as perfect as if it were a summer idyl. . . . “Arne” is as delicious a story as any fairy tale can be, or ever was. Without shirking the plain, prosaic conditions of genuine human life, it yet constantly appeals to our imagination,—as the June landscapes at sunset intimate the Fortunate Islands beyond. Its glimpses into nature are as true as Shakespeare’s.

In forthright honesty of style he has set an example to his craft that the world could not thank him too much for, if there was any likelihood it would be followed. He knows how to say just enough, and make a few simple strokes in the picture tell. It has the ease of good writing throughout. He evidently confides in the reader’s aptness, and believes he may leave many things to suggestion without risk. Hence, we find him always saying the right thing at the right time and in the right way, and leaving off when the chapter is done. The very first page of “The Happy Boy”—and of “Arne,” too—affords a marked illustration of the pure sufficiency of a few words. The chapter of correspondence between Oeyvind, Marit, and the schoolmaster, is not only naïve and unique, but has a pathetic tenderness that almost moistens the eyes. •

How long we shall continue to like stories like these, when their newness has worn off and their slender framework is exposed, I do not assume to say. But for the present they make a pleasant transition from the highly spiced literature so much in demand. Their simplicity and freshness, their delicate shading of color, abounding pathos, subtle insight of moods and character, and dainty reserve in expression, must win them, as fast as they become known, a welcome under many roofs. They are not for the old alone, nor merely for the young; they weave their spell around the whole family-circle.

In no way, too, and by no writer have the sanctities of religion been so tenderly expressed. Their presence saturates the very texture of “The Happy Boy,” without the least impertinence of pietistic cant, and falls like a soothing benediction. The freedom and buoyancy of life, however, is nowhere checked; and Sunday relaxation, the social dance, and the cup of ale do not seem, in Norway at least, to interfere with the fullest duty to God and man.

#### *The Nation.*

One of Björnson’s strong points is his skill in putting a landscape before us, not by “word-painting,”—though for that matter “word-painting” never puts a landscape before us,—but by a few happy sentences which serve as eyes, because they are the words of one with a strong love of nature; with an ability to see the picturesqueness of a scene as well as to feel the sentiment of it; with the ability, too, and the will, to choose descriptive words, and with an incapacity of performing the word-painter’s trick of selecting fine phrases because they are fine. Touches of this power now and again occur in the “Fisher Maiden,” but not so frequently as in “Arne.” . . . It is not then for his power as a thinker that Björnson is to be admired. He is a lyrical poet. Capable of failing in drama, liable to seem weak when he attempts to take philosophical views of life, he is yet gifted with such a capacity of feeling, and he has so much of the poet’s power to tell us with precision what moves his soul and appears to his vision, and so much of the artist’s power of selection and self-restraint, that he takes his place among the most genuine and delightful of the minor poets of nature and of the affections.















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